



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 16 OF 19



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 2

SERIALS Sub A

HITS 'LF-TRUTH BY WHEELER AS 'SMEAR' TO U. S.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

By reiterated misrepresentation of the stand of the overwhelming majority of Americans on the issues of the war, Senator Burton K. Wheeler and other isolationist orators are "smearing the American people," it was declared today by John A. Morrison, director of the Chicago Committee to Defend America.

Morrison was referring to persistent dinning into audiences of America First of the proposition that "83 per cent" or similarly huge percentages of Americans "don't want war"—without mention of percentages which, as shown in public-opinion polls, want effective aid to Britain, even at risk of war.

"It must be remembered," Morrison said, "that Hitler himself, in 'Mein Kampf,' declared that by telling a big enough untruth often enough, you get it believed.

'Hides Essential Truth.'

"Hammering home a half-truth—as do the America First orators—while hiding the essential larger truth of which it is a part, is an ancient stand-by in the science of demagoguery.

"Yes, the American people hate war—all of us—but there are some things we hate even more. Senator Wheeler and similar orators are hiding the facts. With their cheap demagoguery they are attempting to smear the American people.

"The significant figure, which Senator Wheeler & Co. never mention is that 71 per cent of the American people, as shown by the Gallup poll, favor use of American naval vessels to insure the delivery of the weapons promised to Britain if necessary to Nazi defeat.

"Nor do we hear citation from Senator Wheeler or America First of the Gallup poll figures this week showing that—although 81 per cent would vote to stay out of war today—68 per cent of the American people favor entering the war if defeat of Hitler can be assured in no other way.

"The spine of America is much better than you admit, Senator Wheeler."

Progress with Petitions.

Rapid progress continues, Morrison reported, in the massing of signatures on petitions to President Roosevelt asking whatever action is necessary to deliver the world from the evil of Hitler. There has been no opposition of two such characters use of history amuse herself more reading book; and instructive. Never Secretary," by Phyllis Moir. This

mittees of appeasement, the No Foreign War Committee, headed by Verne Marshall, who blitzed from Iowa to brief fame in New York as head of the group, has breathed its last. Marshall has announced its disbandment with the explanation that "the purposes for which the committee was organized last December have been served." Just how they have been served was not made clear by Mr. Marshall. He urged friends of his committee—which was largely a one-man outfit—to join America First.

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Drayton.....
Mr. Guinan Tamm.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Miss Gandy.....

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-1-41

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Drayton	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

3,000 Expected at — America First Rally

A capacity crowd of over 3,000 is expected at the America First Committee rally in Orchestra Hall tonight to hear the Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University law professor, in his plea for unity in the nation-wide campaign to keep America out of war.

Dr. O'Brien, who has been touring the Midwest urging the public to unite to stop the march toward war, declared in a recent speech: "If we are not craven cowards, we will use our constitutional rights and thunder to Washington: 'This is a democracy. The will of the people must prevail. More than 100,000,000 American citizens want no war. We shall tolerate no betrayal.'"

Carl Craven will lead group singing of patriotic tunes at tonight's mass meeting. The doors of Orchestra Hall will be opened at 6 o'clock and the meeting will begin at 8.

If we are not craven cowards, we will use our constitutional

AMERICA FIRST LEADERS ELATED BY PEACE GAINS

Upsurge Against War Is Seen Thruout Nation.

Leaders of the America First committee commented jubilantly yesterday on the remarkable momentum gained during the last month by the campaign to keep America out of war.

"Judging by quickened interest, increasing demand for membership blanks, and mounting crowds at rallies, the warmongers are on the run," said Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the committee.

Mrs. Fairbank called attention to the diversified interests of persons brought together in the cause of peace. She also pointed out that political leaders, bitter enemies on many matters, have banded to keep America free of the European conflict.

Religious Differences Forgotten.

Religious lines of demarcation have been broken down by the demand for peace, Mrs. Fairbank said, citing that Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Baptists are on the growing membership lists of the America First committee.

Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker of the Methodist church is one of the leaders of the National committee, while Dr. Samuel K. Wilson, S. J., head of Loyola university, and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, Disciples of Christ and editor of Christian Century, are listed as sponsors of the Illinois America First group.

Chief among the political leaders who have given their time to the campaign to keep the country out of war, are Senators Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.], Wayland Brooks [R., Ill.], D. Worth Clark [D., Idaho], Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.], Bennett Champ Clark [D., Mo.], and Congressmen Hamilton

Fish [R., N. Y.], Carl T. Curtis [R., Neb.], and J. Edgar Chenoweth [R., Colo.].

Cites Change in Sentiment.

Senator Wheeler is now engaged in a country-wide tour in behalf of peace. In Chicago last Sunday he cited the change in sentiment during the last two months.

"Passage of the lease-lend bill had brought on the feeling of defeatism among Americans," said Wheeler. "They felt 'we are in the war' and they had no one to crystalize the antiwar sentiment and convince them they could stop the drift to war if they would stand up and fight. Work of the America First committee in bringing speakers to the people has changed this."

Senator Clark will address a meeting at the University of Missouri in Columbia tonight, and will speak tomorrow in Kansas City, Mo., where he will be joined by former Gov. Alf Landon of Kansas. Clark and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will speak at an America First rally in St. Louis Saturday night, and Clark will speak at another America First rally Sunday afternoon in Indianapolis.

America First, which began operations in September 1940 with R. Douglas Stuart Jr. as national director, and Gen. Robert E. Wood as acting national chairman, has been the foremost organization in the fight for peace. The committee has grown until it now possesses 718 chapters, including groups in every state in the Union.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Drayton	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Rally Ban Protested By 'America First'

CHICAGO, May 1 (U.P.).—R. Douglas Stuart Jr., national director of the America First Committee, today branded as "un-American" the refusal of Miami city and county officials to allow the committee's Miami chapter to use the Dade county courthouse for a rally. Stuart said he was sending a message to Dade county commissioners and Mayor Alexander Orr Jr., asking reconsideration.

100-4712-4

MAY 2 - 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

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America First to Present Speakers

Under the auspices of the Oakland unit of America First Committee, three speakers will be presented at the Oakland Auditorium Theater tonight.

Oswald Garnam Villar, editor and writer, will talk on "How Great Is America's Danger?" and Mrs. Elizabeth Zartman will speak on "Let's Think About it." Norman Witteman is to talk on "Let's Call a Spade a Spade."

The meeting is open to the public.

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100-4712-A

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

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SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

MAY 2- 1941

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to widespread public demand, reflecting intense interest in the issues at stake, The News today opens a new Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. It is turning this space over to the two leading organizations with opposite viewpoints—the America First Committee and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The Committees are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc.,
515 Madison Ave., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies,
8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Do We Want an American Hitler?

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is organized for one purpose and one purpose only—to keep America out of the present foreign war. Its aim may be very simply stated. It does not wish to see a Hitler in America. It does not want a Mussolini here. It does not want a Stalin here. It fears very much the appearance here of any of those degrading and alien forms of government and life which are found under Fascist governments.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, however, does not fear that Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin will bring those baleful ways of life here, because it does not believe that Hitler can invade and conquer this country. But it believes that dictatorship and Fascism can appear here just the same, and take away our liberties and our democratic government.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE believes that Hitlers and Stalins come when certain conditions are favorable for their appearance. There are plenty of Hitlers besides Adolf. There is a Hitler in Germany. There is a Hitler in Italy, another in Russia, another in Spain. There were Hitlers in Greece and Bulgaria, and there are still Hitlers in Rumania and Turkey. They have different names, but they stand for the same thing and are produced by the same forces.

The things that make Hitlers are poverty, depression, widespread unemployment, distress, fear and despair among the people—workers without jobs, farmers without money, business men without profits—a nation without hope.

When this happens people—good people, too—not knowing what to do—listen to the siren song of those false leaders who promise abundance, prosperity, national hope. Then the Hitler appears. He takes a little power at first. And as a little power turns out to be not enough, he takes more power and then more, suppresses those who criticize him, silences all opposition, makes himself master.

This is how Hitlerism came to Italy and then to Germany. It did not come into them from outside. Armies did not march in and impose it on them. People in Italy and people in Germany, led by violent men, imposed it on Italy and Germany. And that is how it will come to America if it comes at all.

Our country is in trouble. For eleven years it has had a terrible depression. Millions of men have been without work. Millions of others at work have not earned enough to live decently. Millions of farmers have not been able to sell their crops for the necessities of life. Millions of business men have not been able to make profits or to see with reasonable safety into the future.

The only thing that has kept all these people going—and hoping somehow for better days—has been the spending of money by the Government. And the Government has been getting this money by borrowing it and plunging itself into debt. We need not be too hard on the Government for doing this. The distress has been great. It did not know what else to do. But we all know that sooner or later some other way must be found. We all know that the Government cannot go on borrowing and spending and burying itself in debt forever. Yet no one appears with any other remedy.

Now a war comes in Europe! Poor old Europe! Torn by wars, tormented by poverty for ages! Because this European war was provoked by Fascist dictators we in America have sympathized with those nations who have been attacked. But from the beginning we have said: This is not our war. It is a dreadful and barbarous thing. But it is not ours. We sympathize with the victims and we are willing to help. But we must stay out of it. And AMERICA FIRST has said just that. And it continues to say that.

It says that because it knows—as all know—that we are already in deep trouble from the depression. If we go into the war we will add deeper and more terrible trouble. We will pile on debts such as no nation has ever known. We will produce a business boom for a while, and then plunge down into a depression beside which 1933 will seem like prosperity. More millions than ever will walk the streets and clamor for bread. More farmers will know greater poverty. More business men will see hope vanish. Then, amidst all the disorder and chaos and poverty and despair which follows, the time for the American Hitler will come. And the American Hitler will come. That is the Hitler we are afraid of—not the Hitler in Germany.

AMERICA FIRST wants to keep our country out of war so that it will not be weakened and bankrupt by the war. We want to keep her out so that we may be able to deal with our great problems and find the way to security. We want to keep out of the war, because we want to keep America strong and healthy so that there will be no place here and no opportunity for the kind of leaders who have seized power in Italy and Germany. We want to stay out in order to save our democracy.

We are against Fascism and dictators. We are against the forms of life in Italy and Germany. We are not against England. But we are FOR America. We believe that war will destroy America. That is, it will destroy the things in America which we want to keep and which we love. We want to save America.

They Are Afraid

By WALTER MILLIS.

Look carefully at the arguments of America First, of former Colonel Lindbergh, of all the others who are trying to defeat the vigorous policy of giving all-out aid to Britain and seeing that it gets there. You will see that every argument boils down in the end to just one thing: Fear.

They are afraid. They are not arguing for what they want to happen; they are arguing about what they are afraid might happen.

They are afraid of war; and they never see what great ends of security and freedom there are to be gained by taking that risk.

They are afraid that Britain is about to be defeated anyway; and they never see that if their advice were taken Britain would go down tomorrow and the situation would be infinitely worse than it is now.

They are afraid that America would only make a worse mess of another victory than was made at Versailles. They have so little confidence in America that they forget how terrible the mess is bound to be if the totalitarians are left to make it.

They are afraid that vigorous action will mean "the end of democracy." They have so little faith in democracy that they are paralyzed by the thought of what might come about instead of rising up to make certain that it doesn't come about.

They are afraid that aid to Britain may strip our own defenses. They never see that by sending present production to Britain where it can be used now we are creating the vast capacity to produce the improved weapons which we may need by the time we would need them.

They are afraid. They don't know these things will happen; they are just afraid they might, and they are so full of these fears that they never see the great danger that by their timidity they stand to lose everything, exactly as every little European democracy has done. Because this is a hard, risky world some risks have to be taken. But the United States is not a small European country; it is a great people with a tremendous strength, occupying an unrivaled geographic position that enables it to exert that strength in time to be effective with only a minimum of added danger in case such efforts should fail. And no policy which is simply a collection of all possible negative and defeatist fears for what might happen is a sound or sufficient policy for such a people, in such a time as this.

Wheeler's Advice Bad On American Defense

If this country had followed the advice of Senator Wheeler, it would be as unprepared to defend itself today as Norway was unprepared to defend itself a year ago. Here are a few things the isolationist Senator has said:

December 29, 1937—"I see no necessity for spending millions and millions of dollars for armaments and battleships."

Is it safe to listen to the man who said this in 1937 when he now says that he sees no reason for using our navy to deliver war materials to Britain?

June 4, 1940—"Let us not create the impression that some other nation will come over here and attack the United States because there is not any reason why it should."

Apparently Senator Wheeler was unaware that Hitler has let it be known that it is his purpose to conquer the world.

The Senator should be told that Der Fuhrer has said: "Two worlds are in conflict, two philosophies of life... one of these two worlds must break asunder."

July 25, 1940—"I do not believe it is necessary in the United States at the present time to conserve the wealth of the country or the youth of the country. I think it is only stirring up war hysteria."

The men who tried to warn France that its preparedness was inadequate were also denounced for "stirring up war hysteria."

August 5, 1940—"At the present time I do not see any emergency so far as the peace and security of the United States are concerned."

Senator Wheeler insists on playing

ostrich. The people of the United States should have no interest in what he does not see beneath the sand.

August 20, 1940—"I am one of those who do not believe our first line of defense is in Great Britain. I am one of those who do not believe the British navy is an protection for us. I am one of those who believe the United States is strong enough to protect itself against any country in the world."

It would be well to ask those who have some expert knowledge about naval matters if the British navy is any protection for us. You might also ask the Senator if he believes the British navy would be no danger to us were it in the hands of Germany. Does Senator Wheeler believe that, had the United States followed his advice of 1937 against increasing armaments, it would now be strong enough to protect itself against any country in the world?

December 27, 1940—"I think we are doing Great Britain a great disservice by urging her to go on and fight until she is exhausted. On the other hand, I think we should do everything possible for peace."

What kind of a peace, Senator? Yet know, and all the rest of us know, that the only kind of a peace possible before Great Britain has defeated the Nazis would be on Hitler's terms.

Writing of Wendell Willkie's answer to Charles A. Lindbergh in Collier's, which goes on the newsstand today, John Tappan Graves, II says:

"Handicapped as he is by not being a great orator, Mr. Willkie is able nevertheless to offset the resulting limitation on his statesmanship by being a Great American and having eye-witnessed England considerably more recently and authoritatively and gregariously than the great aviator has."

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Rally Ban Protested By 'America First'

CHICAGO, May 2 (U.P.).—R. Douglas Stuart jr., national director of the America First Committee, yesterday branded as "un-American" the refusal of Miami city and county officials to allow the committee's Miami chapter to use the Dade county courthouse for a rally. Stuart said he was sending a message to Dade county commissioners and Mayor Alexander Orr jr., asking reconsideration.

100-4712-A

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

MAY 2 - 1941

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National news

Find midwest isn't center of isolationism

The America First committee claims its greatest strength lies in the Middle West.

Recently, after attending an America First meeting in Chicago (where Churchill's name was loudly booed and Hitler's just as loudly applauded) the Baltimore Evening Sun's Great Plains correspondent decided to test this claim.

He stopped on the postoffice steps of Emaden, Ill., a farming community in northern Logan county, and asked the first 15 persons who appeared for their mail one question:

"How far should the United States go in aiding Great Britain?"

10 OF 14 GO 'ALL-OUT'

One refused to answer. Of the 14 who replied, says the Great Plains correspondent, "one thought we have no business helping Britain at all, two thought we ought to keep our armaments for ourselves, one favored aid to Britain short of war, and 10 out of the 14 favored aid to Britain short of nothing."

Here are their replies, as published in the Baltimore Sun:

S. A. Elliott, retired farmer: "I don't think we should aid them as much as we have. It's their own problem. I'm a little like Lindbergh. I feel that if we had let them alone, they wouldn't have depended on us to help them, and then there wouldn't have been much to it at all. The war would have been over by now and everything would have quieted down. I don't think there's any chance of Hitler harming us. Anyway, there's no bombing fleet that could make it this far."

'AID TOO LATE'

C. S. Kent, filling station operator: "I don't think we can give Britain aid in time. They wouldn't get it quick enough, so why not keep it at home? I don't think I'm opposed to aid for Britain. I had hoped that we could help them, but I just don't think we could get it over there soon enough."

Gunder Rullestad, farm owner: "I wish we could help Britain, but we can't deliver the stuff, so we might as well stop taking chances and keep the armaments for ourselves. Anyway, if the Germans can't take England I don't see how they can take us. We're a big country, a rich country, and a good country. If we went into it, it would cost something awful. I would like to see Great Britain win, but now it doesn't look as if she will."

C. E. Rod, printer-publisher: "I think that the only way to aid Britain is to send them all the materials, but convoys—that's taking a chance. I wouldn't risk the lives of our men. As far as I can see, I think that England can hold her own at home, down in the Balkans, the way it's gone, they haven't done so well. No, mark me down for no convoys."

'GIVE 'EM EVERYTHING'

Wrex Wilson, farm hand: "I think that the United States should give Great Britain all possible aid—and give it to them while they get a chance. I'm in the draft, but got a S-A classification. I'm married, but if they need me, I'm going."

Ole J. Nernes, farm hand: "I think that if the United States doesn't give aid to Great Britain, the war will go the other way, and I can't think of anything that'll be worse for this country. I believe that we should stimulate airplane production in this country, and not only give the British all the planes we got, not only deliver the goods, but send some spare pilots along, too. That Hitler is a menace to all of us."

Matt Vespestad, farm owner: "I think this whole opposition to aid Britain is propaganda spread by fifth columnists. Look what those fifth columnists did to France and Norway. I do think we should give Churchill everything we can, and more, even if it bleeds us white. If they haven't enough men, let's send some of ours. I'm ready to go any time after 30 days' notice. We

shouldn't have let Germany get as far as she has."

THEY NEED OUR AID

John Weeks, farm owner: "I think they need aid over there in Great Britain; they need food and materials and airplanes. We ought to send them everything we can and see that it gets there. I think that we ought to keep out of war ourselves, if we can—but if we can't, we can't."

John Lee, farm owner: "If we can stay out of war ourselves, all the better, but let's send everything we can to England. We enjoy living in a free country. There's nothing we should not give them if it will keep us free. If they haven't got food and materials, they're going to get licked—and if they get licked, it'll be our turn next, and by ourselves, too. So rather than see Britain licked, I'm for sending convoys, and everything that goes with that."

Nels Vespestad, farm renter: "I believe that we should help Great Britain, and I don't mean just by shipping a couple of airplanes. Let's give them all we got, throw in a few battleships, too. We can't pay too much to defeat Hitler. If we have to send convoys, let's send them; men too, if necessary. I'm ready to go if called. I'd sooner fight knowing we had some allies than have to fight Hitler alone. And who knows where we'd have to fight him?"

'CARRY BIG CLUB'

J. E. Berbracht, retired farmer: "I feel like Teddy Roosevelt used to say—'Speak softly, but carry a big club.' I think that if we don't help Great Britain, Hitler will lick them. As far as we're concerned, that's the worst thing that can happen to this country. I don't know anything about convoys. The President and his admirals know about that. If they decide that convoys are necessary to help Britain, then I'm for convoys."

Mrs. I. T. Sands, wife of a farm owner: "I think we should have helped Britain sooner and more. Maybe it's too late now, but I'm for shipping food and materials to the bitter end. I don't like the idea of convoys, but then we can give them enough naval vessels so that they can convoy them themselves. But if that doesn't work, then convoys are all right. We must get help there of all kinds. No, I haven't any boys subject to the draft. There's only one boy in our family, and he enlisted in the navy last year."

Rob J. Nelson, insurance salesman: "I'm in favor of going the limit in aid to Britain—give them everything they need, munitions, medical supplies, food, guns, even if we have to convoy them across. There's no use to start them over and have them go to the bottom of the ocean. I don't know if we can keep out of the war, but I don't care. A Hitler victory is worse than anything I can imagine."

Marvin Stenson, filling station attendant: "I think that the United States should help Great Britain, because if Hitler does beat them, it'll be tougher for us. I think he would eventually come out at us because he's after the world. I think we should send the materials and convoy them if necessary. Any time the President says convoys are necessary is all right with me. Me? Yes, I'm in the draft, probably will be called up this summer."

So, concludes the Great Plains Correspondent:

"The sentiment for all-out aid to Britain is growing so rapidly in the Middle West that it is no surprise to find this Emaden poll running so unopposedly in favor of that proposition."

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

5-2-41

Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Drayton	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Tracy	
Miss Gandy	

'America First' in Will County

A strong chapter of the American First Committee is being established in Will County, with headquarters in Joliet, Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman for Illinois, announced today.

The chapter, headed by J. Henry Baird, 211 Nicholson st., Joliet, has a membership in excess of 500. Units have been established in Elmwood and Wilmington, and preparations are being made to launch others in Plainfield, Braidwood, Beecher and other small communities. Baird explained:

"Workers at the Wilmington munitions plant are showing a marked interest in the America First movement, and we expect to enroll hundreds of them as members."

"Membership cards will be circulated throughout the entire county, and within a short time we intend to have one of the strongest chapters in the country."

The Joliet chapter is making plans for a mass meeting, at which an outstanding speaker will be heard.

100-47712-4

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-24/17

**America First Group
Incorporated**

The America First Committee of
Ohio and incorporated today and
has elected State Charter by John
Sweeney, secretary of state.
Incorporators were A. M.
Schneider, 1134 Lake Avenue, Lakewood, W. B. Hoff, 1133 Hampton
Road, Culverine, Cullin, 11722 Edge-
water, C. A. Newwood, Florence M.
Griffin, 1157 Orchard Grove Avenue,
Lakewood, and E. Harrington, 1101
Garabel Avenue, Lakewood. 11/1/36

Mr. Tolson
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Miss Gandy

Landon, Clark Blast U. S. 'Peace Pledge'

By United Press

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 3—Alf M. Landon, 1936 Republican presidential candidate, and Sen. Bennett C. Clark last night called upon the people to make President Roosevelt fulfill his "campaign promises" to keep the United States out of war.

Landon presided at a meeting of the America First Committee, and introduced Clark to an estimated 2000 persons.

"The American people have a distinct recollection of many promises of the President to keep the United States at peace," Landon said. "They had the right to continue to feel safe and secure, but the people now are becoming distinctly disturbed by the Administration's twilight steps to war."

"Congress has abdicated its functions, but the right of petition guaranteed by the Constitution still exists," Clark said. He asserted the country would remain at peace if the "four-fifths majority" who oppose the war "will make themselves articulate."

WASH. NEWS

MAY 3 - 1936

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War May End Our Liberties, Clark Warns

Senator Sees U. S.
Dictatorship After
Entry Into Conflict

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 2 C.T.P.S.). — Senator Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri Democrat, in an address before an America First committee rally here tonight, warned that the campaign to keep America out of war also is a last ditch stand for democracy in the United States.

He repudiated the support of members of subversive organizations, Communist or Fascist, who he said attempt to affix themselves to patriotic meetings.

"Should Face Firing Squad"

"If any such are here," Clark said, "let me say I utterly repudiate their presence, and express my sincere belief that their ultimate destination should be a firing squad."

A totalitarian government, he said, is probably the best form of government for conducting a foreign war, and for that reason he expressed the fear that if the United States enters the present

war, the country might acquiesce in a complete dictatorship.

"Stripping Of Our Defenses"

"My fear is that we might win the war and lose our liberties, that the generous adulation of great names—the Churchills, the Halifaxes, and the Roosevelts—may mean the stripping of our own defenses and breaking down of our system of government."

100-4712-A²

MAY 3 - 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

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AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints. The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc.,
515 Madison Ave., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies,
8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Hitler CAN'T Invade America!

The basis of the whole argument to bring America into the war has been "This is our war," that when Hitler defeats the British Empire he will invade America.

The President says "we will lose our independence." Secretary Hull says "Hitler will be able to cross the Atlantic easily." All the speakers, writers, propagandists on radio and movie repeat daily "We are next on Hitler's list."

The object is to fill Americans with fear—to frighten them, terrify them, put them in a panic.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE tells Americans they have nothing to fear from a German invasion: First, because it is impossible, and Hitler knows it; second, because we can make ourselves so strong no foreign power would dare attack us.

Just think it over calmly. To invade us Hitler would have to bring at least a million soldiers. He took a million into Poland and into Yugoslavia. He would not think of coming here with less.

What makes Hitler's armies so terrible? The machines, armored trucks, tanks, planes, motorcycles and guns they carry. Hitler would have to bring those.

Now what would he require? Here is what military authorities list (Hitler actually uses more): 65,000 armored trucks, 19,800 armored trailers, 4,500 tanks (some weighing 70 tons), 7,900 motorcycles, 1,600 tractors, 1,756 ambulances, 1,120 passenger cars.

He would need 19,000 machine guns, 7,700 automatic rifles, 2,500 anti-tank guns, 2,520 75 mm. field guns and thousands of howitzers, mortars, siege guns. He would have to bring at least 10,000 airplanes and thousands of anti-aircraft guns.

All this vast mass of men and metal would have to be brought here in ships, with large convoys, moving slowly. It would have to land at modern docks with machinery to unload it. The English had to leave all their equipment at Dunkerque and in Greece because they escaped from open beaches. This stuff cannot be put on or off ships at open beaches.

After they got their million men and equipment here they would have to supply it with mountains of rations, mountains of munitions and vast quantities of oil. They could not get this here until the country was conquered. It would have to be brought in ships—a steady stream of ships. Military experts estimate it would take 13,000,000 tons of shipping a month to do this. Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, says:

"The problem seems impossible. Not even Britain or a combination of Britain and Germany has sufficient shipping to divert such an enormous amount of it from their ordinary trade routes to military purposes."

Rear Admiral Cook, U. S. Navy, told a congressional committee:

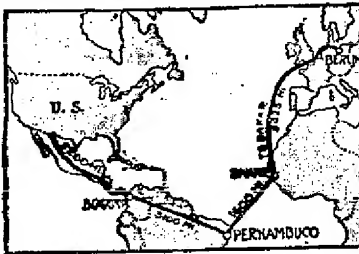
"I do not think that any fleet could make an effective landing on our coast, whether we had a Navy or not, provided there are enough shore-based aircraft available. . . . I do not think that any thinking person ever feels that any nation can successfully invade our country."

Even the President now admits that Hitler "would not dare make a direct attack on us." But, he says, Hitler would operate from bases here. At present we have possession of all the bases in this hemisphere, within striking distance of us. Hitler would have to take them first. But he could not, even with the British fleet. Why is it that Britain with her fleet in the Mediterranean has been unable to take Rhodes, Pantelleria, and other island bases of Italy there? The answer is that armies cannot land against aircraft defense.

But the President says Hitler would go to South America first and sneak up on us from there. Here is the way the President says it would be done. Hitler would take Dakar in West Africa from the French. From Dakar to Brazil is only 1,800 miles. Then he would take Brazil. He would then move on us from Brazil.

This belongs in the realm of the comic. Of course, however, if Hitler moved he would have to bring at least a million men and all that vast array of tanks, trucks, guns, rations, munitions, oil, etc.

Now just consider this. The only reason for a base is to get nearer to the object of attack. Germany and the French coast is roughly only 3,000 miles from our Atlantic coast. But to attack us from the base in Brazil, Hitler would have to make the fantastic journey shown on this map.



He would have to transport a million men and equipment 3,200 miles to Dakar by sea. Then he would have to transport them 1,800 miles from Dakar to Brazil by sea. That's 5,000 miles. He would then be 5,000 miles from the United States—or 2,000 miles further than when he started. He would then have to march his million men and their tanks and trucks over poor roads, inadequate rails, through Brazil (a country as big as the U. S.), through Colombia and Venezuela, then up through the Isthmus, through Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador, and Honduras into Mexico; then across the trackless plains, the tangled, pathless jungles, over the mountain gorges and the swamps of Mexico to the Rio Grande.

He would have marched his hosts 10,000 miles and he would still not have entered the United States. This fairy tale has been invented to scare Americans. AMERICA FIRST says HITLER CANNOT COME HERE, he will not dare try. AMERICA FIRST says let us make ourselves strong and no nation will dream of attacking us.

Write to the President and protest against conveying ships into war zones.

Petition to the President

MR. PRESIDENT:

We believe that the security of the United States demands that "We Deliver the Goods to Britain Now." To this end we will support

(1) full mobilization of the industrial, economic and moral life of this country for production of war materials and

(2) use of American naval forces for police, convoy, or in whatever way is most effective to insure the delivery of these materials to Britain.

The above is the text of a petition being circulated by the 800 chapters of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. It has already been signed by great numbers of Americans, who believe: (1) that the defense of the United States makes necessary the all-out material aid for Britain and her allies which has become our national policy; and (2) that we will not be giving this aid by producing vast quantities of goods, which are sent to the bottom of the Atlantic by German U-boats and sea raiders.

Mobilization of our national life for production, without furnishing naval police to assure delivery of the goods, would be like making gun shells with bullets in the ends but with no powder behind the bullets. To this point, Frederic R. Coudert Sr., prominent international lawyer, said, when signing the petition:

Mr. Coudert Said

"It is perfectly obvious that 8 billion dollars of war material is not to be provided for the benefit of the gaping jaws of a relentless Neptune. Every thinking man must realize that the decision of Congress involved the certainty that the goods will have to be delivered through United States aid. This government, both through the Administration and the Congress, has adopted as a policy to be acted upon the fact that Germany and Italy are to be treated as aggressors and are not entitled to the benefit of impartial neutrality.

"We are in a profound crisis. The security of the nation is involved. A million of men are in training as soldiers and our factories are working to the utmost in the construction of war material. A policy so definitely adopted for the defense of the nation must be maintained. A refusal to accept its consequences now would be an example of inaptitude and cowardice impossible for the American nation.

"Means to vindicate the policy of American security through aid to Britain against aggressors attacking the very fundamentals of civilization and international law should no longer be questioned. The sole remaining problem is how to vindicate that policy. American shipments must be protected from destruction while in transit and the goods must be delivered. So far, no other effective means have been found. Hence American naval units must be employed."

The Ostrich's Body

By SOPHIE KERR

It happened at 49th Street and Fifth Avenue. A man pushed some pamphlets into my hands and said, gutturally: "Rest this, lady, it explains you by America must gift no help to England."

That's German propaganda at its stupid worst. No one can fail to recognize it.

But there's a more subtle, insidious German propaganda going on and it hasn't a Teutonic accent. It is spread by Americans who simply won't face facts.

These Americans say: "We don't like war." But the dictators do like war and are going ahead making cruel, bloody, devastating war regardless of what America likes.

These Americans say: "Oh, Hitler won't come over here!" Every time they say it they open a door for Hitler's coming.

These Americans say: "It's all the fault of the Versailles Treaty." They have never read the Versailles Treaty any more than I have, but they ought to know that blaming the Versailles Treaty cannot keep submarines from shelling our coasts, or bombing planes from blasting our homes into rubble.

These Americans say: "It's none of our affair." Listen, my friends: freedom is our affair, resistance to tyranny and to totalitarianism is our affair—if we're honest Americans. England is making a desperate fight to save freedom for her own people, and if she wins she will have saved freedom for us as well. If she loses, then freedom is lost—to her, to us, to the coming generation—perhaps forever.

The best tools of the Nazis in America today are the American defeatists, the American excusers, the America appeasers, and the American isolationists. They are, in effect, Hitler's own men, exactly as if they got their orders from him. They won't face facts.

The ostrich is the bird that puts his head in the sand, refusing to see his enemy, the hunter. He leaves his body outside the sand. So the hunter walks right up to him and spears him dead.

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. E. J. Connelley	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

R. K. Kramer

'America First' Rally Blocked by Miami

MIAMI, Fla., May 2 (C.T.P.S.). An America First Committee rally scheduled tonight was blocked today by the refusal of city and county authorities to allow the use of public meeting places. The refusal was accompanied by the charge that the America First Committee is a subversive organization because the view it holds on American entry into the European war are contrary to "national policy."

OK

WASHINGTON POST

MAY 3 - 1941

AMERICA FIRST UNIT DRIVES FOR 50,000 IN BORO

Attorney Sees U. S. Entering Conflict in 'Preconceived' Plan

A drive to obtain 50,000 members for the Brooklyn chapter of the American First Committee before Memorial Day was announced yesterday by William T. Leonard, executive chairman of the chapter.

Leonard declared that Brooklynites were flocking to the chapter's headquarters, 44 Court St., to join the organization.

George Dyson Friou, borough attorney and one of the organizers of the Brooklyn chapter, sent a letter yesterday to Senator Robert F. Wagner in which he asserted that the Roosevelt Administration was working out "a preconceived plan" to enter the European war.

"The American public is awakened at last to this fact and to the realization that throwing our resources into the conflict can only prolong it endlessly, cost us our manpower and result in national bankruptcy," Friou wrote.

Subchapters will be opened in each of the Brooklyn Congressional districts, Leonard said. The first subchapter is expected to be opened in Bay Ridge within a week.

Former Representative Marcellus H. Evans is chairman of the membership drive committee. He is being assisted by Charles Adams, Mrs. Ernest W. Boyce, Mrs. Owen Neill Brown, Edward T. Cullen, John Cascione, William J. Edwards, James Higgins, Carl Krause, Mrs. Rose Gores Rockwell, Nicholas Salvatore, Edward I. Fenlon, Mrs. J. Richard Wiggins, Dr. J. Arthur Buchanan, John P. McArdle, the Rev. Gideon Olson and Joseph Gonivale.

- Mr. Leonard
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Foxworth
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

110-4712-1

CLYNN DAILY EAGLE

MAY 4 - 1941

RECORDED BY NEW YORK DIVISION

90

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Drayton	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

ANOTHER APPEASER.

The citizens who support the America First committee have heard something of Vallandigham, the northern traitor in the civil war.

The White House secretariat dug him up out of the copperhead history of the United States for Mr. Roosevelt's use in angry comment upon Col. Lindbergh.

Mr. Roosevelt also spoke of appeasers who wanted Washington to quit in the war of independence. His secretariat did not supply him with names. The America First committee can give him one. It should go on the letterheads of the Union Now organization.

When Benedict Arnold conspired to surrender the defenses of his country to the British his self-justification was that it would be better for the countrymen to remain in colonial subjection to the British crown and parliament.

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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

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5-4-41

GANGSTERS LOLL WHERE 'AMERICA FIRST' IS BARRED

Miami Known as Haven for Gamblers, Racketeers.

Miami, Fla., May 3 (Special).—This city, which has refused the America First committee a public meeting place for a patriotic rally, has long been a winter haven for gangsters, racketeers and gamblers. The revelry in Miami and Miami Beach at the height of the season has had a shady background, both cities being peopled by underworld figures who have muscled into the lucrative pickings from the hordes of vacationers seeking amusement and relaxation.

Authorities have made only spasmodic efforts to shut down gambling. Slot machines are not operating and there have been a few raids on gambling establishments in the last few years, but this last winter it was commonly known that the big games—craps and roulette—were going on a larger scale than ever before. Many swank night spots enjoyed big revenue from the games. Gangsters have been reported to be backers of some of these spots.

Gamblers Violate Law.

Gamblers and racketeers are numerous at the race tracks—Hialeah Park and Tropical Park. They take private wagers from big bettors who do not want to plunge in the pari-mutuels. The pari-mutuel system is legally regulated by the state at the horse and dog tracks, but bookmaking is a violation of the law.

The most notorious resident in this area is Al Capone, who once headed Chicago's outlaws. Capone has a year around home on Palm Island in Biscayne bay, near Miami Beach. While he personally has not been identified with any Miami rackets, his name still has a coercive weight.

In April, 1940, Mrs. Myrtle Buckholtz, former executive secretary of the Miami Waiters' and Bartenders' union, told of membership in the union swelling quickly when Dan Coughlin, Capone's brother-in-law, became its business agent. Reluctance to join the union or permit unionization of night spots usually disappeared, she said, after a remark that "Al Capone's brother-in-law will be in to see you." Coughlin denied her allegations.

Told To Push Nitti Products.

Frank [The Enforcer] Nitti, head of the latter day Capone gang in Chicago, is a frequent visitor in Miami during the season and is reported to have a home in Miami Beach. Mrs. Buckholtz said that waiters and bartenders were instructed to push the use of a certain brand of Chicago beer and a sparkling water sold by Nitti.

George Scallise, racketeer and ex-white slaver, now serving a 10 to 20 year Sing Sing prison sentence for embezzling funds while he was president of the International Building Service Employes' union, is another who frequented Miami in season.

Tracks Ruled by O'Hare.

At the executive committee session of the American Federation of Labor here in February, 1940, Scallise was a prominent figure, nattily clad and accompanied by bodyguards—all paid,

of course, from the union treasury he was looting.

Edward J. O'Hare, front man for the Capone gang who was shot to death in Chicago on Nov. 8, 1939, was a stockholder in Tropical Park race track and controlled the Miami Beach dog kennel racing establishment. One theory advanced for his assassination was that gangsters feared a double-cross by O'Hare in negotiations for another race track. The latter was the Gulfstream track, which opened near here early in 1939 but operated only for a few days.

Frank Erickson, known as "King of the bookies" in the east, and Owen [Owney] Madden, paroled convict and former New York gang leader, have been seen at the race tracks here and are said to have booked many large private wagers.

The city has been the scene of numerous big robberies. Last February, Edward S. Moore Sr., industrialist and turfman, formerly of Chicago, and his wife were robbed of jewelry valued at more than \$200,000. The two masked men who held up the Moores have not been found, nor has any of the loot been recovered.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
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5-4-41

DEFIES MIAMI CENSORING OF AMERICA FIRST

La Follette Asserts He'll Talk There.

New York, May 3 [Special].—Philip F. La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin and a leader in the effort to keep the United States out of war, tonight defied the city authorities of Miami, Fla., which holds the dubious distinction of being the only place in the country where the America First committee has been denied the right to hold an antiwar rally.

Altho the Miami and Dade county authorities refused to permit an America First meeting last night on public property and altho the Miami city commission today invoked a virtual censorship by withholding permission for La Follette to address a similar meeting on May 17, unless the commissioners had first approved his text, the former governor declared that the meeting would be held and he would make a speech.

Will Senator Be There.

At the same time he issued a challenge to Florida's prowar senator, Claude E. Pepper, to meet him in debate at that time. "I am shocked to learn that in your state free speech is denied," said La Follette in a telegram to Pepper. "I will be in Miami on May 17 and it would be a great thing for you and your state to debate 'War or Peace?' Will you be there?"

"The May 17 rally will be held in Miami even if we have to hold it on a street corner or in a cow pasture," La Follette told a reporter. "If in a cow pasture, it would be perfectly fitting that Senator Pepper be present. The airing would do the gentleman a lot of good."

Still a Constitution, He Says.

"Despite the shortsightedness of Miami officials in gaining new notoriety by making Miami the first city in America to refuse a patriotic group the privilege of meeting on public property, there still is a constitution. It applies to Miami along with the rest of the United States, altho that city's authorities apparently are unaware or forgetful that it guarantees free speech."

"The American flag is still flying without impediment by Miami politicians. It will be flying on May 17, and we shall present the viewpoint of the vast majority of Americans, who want to keep the United States out of another European conflict."

La Follette recalled, as have America First leaders, that Bay Front park, the place sought for both the banned meeting last night and for the May 17 rally, was the scene of a recent gathering of war interventionists addressed by Douglas Fairbanks Jr., a movie actor.

Judge to Revoke Charter.

Miami, Fla., May 3 [Special].—While the Miami city commission today was acting to withhold permission for the use of Bay Front park for an America First committee meeting on May 17 Circuit Judge Worth W. Trammell declared he would dissolve the state charter he issued to the antiwar organization on the ground that its form was illegal at the time he issued it.

The action before Judge Trammell

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
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5-4-41

CAN DEFEND U.S. HERE, BUT NOT ABROAD: LINDY

Lone Eagle Tells St. Louis
Audience Country Is Being
Led Into Major Disaster

Text of Col. Lind-
bergh's speech on
Page 31.

ST. LOUIS, May 3.—
Col. Charles A. Lindbergh
came back tonight to the
city which sped him on his
gallant flight across the
Atlantic—came back with
a plea for peace for his
nation.

Stirring a great ovation from a
throng of 15,000 in the Arena, he
warned that America is not pre-
pared to wage a war abroad, but
pleaded that we must—and can—
defend our own shores.

Cheers echoed through the au-
ditorium as he appeared with
Senator Bennett Champ Clark,
Missouri Democrat, and Gen. Rob-
ert E. Wood, acting national chair-
man of the America First Com-
mittee.

SEES BRITISH LOSING.

He viewed Britain as already
falling in its wars with the Axis
powers, and declared that, no mat-
ter how the United States saps its
strength by sending aircraft to
Britain, there can be no hope of
bringing England to equality—
much less superiority—with Ger-
many in military aviation. He
added:

"Not only is the performance of
some of our vital types of service
aircraft inadequate, but our total
air force in the United States to-
day, including both army and
navy, both modern and obsolescent
types, is not more than Germany
can produce in a few weeks. It is
a small fraction of her present air
force. To enter a European war
today with our air force would be
almost as great a folly as that
committed by France when she
declared war on Germany in
1939."

Senator Clark accused Presi-
dent Roosevelt and his adminis-
tration of violating pledges to the
voters by adopting policies which
threaten to plunge the United
States into war. (Details on
Page 22.)

"HAD TO RESIGN."

It was Lindbergh's first speech
since he resigned his colonel's
commission in the air corps re-
serve last Monday. The resig-
nation followed President Roose-
velt's press conference statement
grouping Lindbergh with appeas-
ers of the revolutionary war and
the Copperheads of the civil war.
Concerning his resignation, he
said:

"I resigned because I felt that
the statements of the President
left me no honorable alternative.
This situation arose because I
had been misled by the President's
statements in the past."

Mr. Tolson
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54-41

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(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Write or Wire the President Today—Demand He Keep His Pledges to You

President Roosevelt said, just before election: "Fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Now his Secretary of War demands that American battleships—owned by American boys—convey supplies into the war zones. THIS MEANS WAR. The President himself said, "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." IT IS UP TO YOU—THE 83 PER CENT. OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO DO NOT WANT WAR—TO STOP THE PRESIDENT FROM BEING PUSHED INTO WAR BY THE SMALL NUMBER WHO SURROUND HIM.

MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD—WRITE OR WIRE TODAY.

See Life Steadily And See It Whole"

By JAMES M. GILLIS

That wise counsel is a quotation from an English scholar, Matthew Arnold, who was speaking of a Greek dramatist, Sophocles. We must see our problem—to fight or not to fight—steadily and see it whole.

The worst enemy of the American people is not a European dictator, or any fellow American, be he politician, newspaper columnist, radio commentator, after dinner speaker, military "expert," or whatnot, who, at this critical moment, would whip us up to hysteria. With him ranks a name-caller, the epithet-finger, the smearer.

Avoiding any claim—explicit or implicit—to speak for a church or a religious society; avoiding also the appeal to passion, we Americans will do well to look at our problem steadily and see it whole.

Is this a war for the status quo, the continuation of the British Empire, the financial and commercial domination of the world by English-speaking powers? Would we for that cause be willing to sacrifice billions in money, millions of lives, and even, if need be, existence as a nation?

Or is it a war in defense of freedom? If so, what if those for whom freedom we would fight have never enjoyed freedom, do not believe in it or practice freedom when they were their masters; do not share our view of freedom and wouldn't appreciate it? Must we inflict freedom—our kind of freedom—upon them whether they desire it or not?

Before Hitler came to power, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Turkey had dictators. Even Poland had a dictator. If we are anxious now to free all dictator-ridden countries, why were we not anxious before? Why this sudden spasm of zeal for the freedom of the world?

If we go to war to release Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans from under the heel of Hitler, shall we also fight to release the Ukrainians, the Finns, and the White Russians from under the heel of Stalin? And the Chinese from under the heel of Japan? If this is a war for humanity, must we not make it a war for all humanity?

More than a hundred years ago, Lord Byron tried to work up his own line to save the Greeks from repeated massacres at the hands of the "unholy Turk." But England remained apathetic, and so did America. Why are England and America now so eager to avenge the Greeks, they were previously so unconcerned?

Fifty years after Byron, Mr. Gladstone used all the power of his oratory to persuade the English to rescue the Bulgarians, and only five years after that, the Armenians, who were threatened with annihilation at the hands of the Turks. But with all his guile, Gladstone could not persuade England to fight for the Bulgarians or the Armenians. When, therefore, did the English interest in humanity commence? And why?

As for ourselves, why do we listen to Churchill after turning a deaf ear to Gladstone?

Coming closer to our own times, why did we not prevent the Japanese from gobbling up Manchukuo; or why did we not drive them out after they had stolen that province from the Chinese? Is it sufficient to say that Mr. Stimson invited England to join us in ejecting the Japanese, and that when England declined we subsided? Since England declined to go to war for the oppressed in Asia, can it be cowardly or criminal of America to decline to go to war for the oppressed in Europe? Is Japanese inhumanity less inhuman than Nazi inhumanity?

Looking at the question thus critically, but without emotion and impartially, are we not driven to the conclusion that the interests of humanity are not really paramount in the present war? Is there not some other motive that is primary and essential? Some motive without which this war would not be fought? What is that motive?

If that other motive—the all-important motive—is the status quo of England, or financial-commercial-industrial hegemony of the world by England, or the Anglo-American domination of the seven seas and all the continents, are we prepared to fight for that cause?

Would that be a crusade?

Unless we have asked and answered these questions, we have not seen the problem steadily nor have we seen it whole.

What Price Peace?

The isolationists prate much about peace. But what have they ever done for peace? What price will they pay for it?

Let us look at the record.

It was an isolationist leader, whose handling of the Oriental immigration problem was largely responsible for the needlessly offending the Japanese people in 1924. This effort undoubtedly had much to do with turning Japan in the direction which has now brought it into the aggressors' Axis.

Other isolationists were largely responsible for refusing to consider a generous solution of the Allied debt problem, which could have been used to secure a more far-sighted policy on the part of Britain and France toward Germany. This might have prevented Hitler's rise to power.

Isolationists raised our import duties through the Hawley-Smoot tariff. This did much to increase the economic difficulties of countries that owed us money—which was another thing that helped Hitler.

Isolationists kept the United States out of the League of Nations. Had this country assumed its responsibilities with the other nations which were trying to build machinery of enduring peace, we might be living in a peaceful world today.

The isolationists kept the United States out of the World Court. They invented "jokers" for our arbitration treaties, which make them meaningless. In other words, they said they wanted peace while preventing our support of any effective machinery for pacific settlement of disputes.

In the frontier days, we learned that to maintain order men must either form a vigilante committee or organize a police force. The isolationists have opposed doing either.

Since the isolationists opposed our co-operating with other nations; since they prevented our support of means for pacific settlement of disputes, one would think they would have favored a strong Army and Navy for national defense. But no part of them opposed increased armaments up to the last moment, when it was near being too late.

We could read on from the record indefinitely. It shows that the isolationists' service to peace is not service. They have opposed any peace action while lolling back and hoping that everything would come out right. "Do nothing" is the price they would pay for peace—the same worthless coin they urge us to offer now.

Since the isolationists prevented our contributing toward a system of world peace, we now have the alternative of giving speedy and effective aid to Britain and her allies in a terrible war or waiting until the aggressors' Axis brings that war to our shores.

Can Hitler Invade America?

By LIVINGSTON HARTLEY
Author of "Our England Line"

Can Hitler invade America? The answer is "Yes." If that meant marching a million German soldiers directly across New York State or Texas, probably not. But if it means destruction of American cities from the air, and creation of conditions for our country which would bring about our defeat, the argument of the America First Committee on this page May 3 is false.

The easy road for Nazi attack upon the United States is via South America. Hitler can invade South America if he conquers Britain, provided only that he can control the South Atlantic. And he would not need anything like a million men to do that.

There are three points to be remembered in this connection:

(1) Dakar and the present British fleet base at Freetown in West Africa are nearly a thousand miles nearer to South America below the bulge of Brazil than are our southernmost Caribbean bases. These will be German bases if Britain is defeated.

(2) The United States will have 18 battleships by the end of 1942. By that time the three Axis powers will have 28, not including any French units or any they might get from Britain if the Axis won. So it looks as if they would have more bases and greater forces for control of the South Atlantic.

(3) Many experts fear that South America would go to Hitler without war if he defeated Britain. The story of Romania or Iraq might be repeated successfully. In this case Germany could support Nazi governments from West African bases more easily than we could oppose them from our Caribbean bases. If Germany controlled the South Atlantic, she could easily send her enough troops from her African bases to put pro-Nazi revolution in power. If that happened, we would have to do the invading and face the consequences.

If Northern Brazil, Ecuador or Colombia can be lined up with the Nazis, their bombers will have fairly easy steppingstones from Berlin to the Panama Canal. Their latest bombers will be able to reach American cities. These are reasons why our Government holds that national defense means hemisphere defense. Isolationists who side-step the issue of the Monroe Doctrine pretend that it doesn't.

Even then the United States might not be invaded by a million soldiers. But under such conditions, including loss of command of the Atlantic sea routes, it was stated by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee on May 15, 1940, that "Without the power to carry the fight to the enemy, there can be no alternative other than subjugation to his wishes."

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Mr. Tolson.....	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....	
Mr. Clegg.....	
Mr. Foxworth.....	
Mr. Glavin.....	
Mr. Ladd.....	
Mr. Nichols.....	
Mr. Rosen.....	
Mr. Carson.....	
Mr. Egan.....	
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....	
Mr. Hendon.....	
Mr. Tracy.....	
Miss Gandy.....	

ANOTHER APPEASER

The citizens who support the America First committee have heard something of Vallandigham, the northern traitor in the civil war.

The White House secretariat dug him up out of the copperhead history of the United States for Mr. Roosevelt's use in angry comment upon Col. Lindbergh.

Mr. Roosevelt also spoke of appeasers who wanted Washington to quit in the war of independence. His secretariat did not supply him with names. The America First committee can give him one. It should go on the letterheads of the Union Now organization.

When Benedict Arnold conspired to surrender the defenses of his country to the British his self-justification was that it would be better for the countrymen to remain in colonial subjection to the British crown and parliament.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Freedom of Speech

A warning is uttered by the Miami Herald in its rebuke of commissioners of Miami and of Dade county, Florida, for denying the right of assembly and free speech to the America First committee. "They could think of no better reason than to brand the America First organization as subversive," says the Herald. "Certainly no organization which advocated arming and protection of its own country first ever was accused of being subversive." One of the commissioners, it adds, is chairman of the Miami chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and in that capacity staged a public appearance by Douglas Fairbanks, jr., in behalf of his committee.

Could there be anything more subversive than to urge and practice violation of the first article of the bill of rights providing freedom of speech and of the press? We hear constantly and *ad nauseam* that in order to compete with the dictator powers the democratic states must suspend the processes of democracy. There is truth in this as it concerns ordering of our lives to produce weapons and supplies and drafting of our men. All the more reason for not encouraging those who are ever ready to "call out the guard" against those with whose opinions they disagree.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies had a wide opportunity to preach its doctrine. It did so and continues to do so. Many Americans believe in it. Some do not believe in it and prefer the America First committee, in general identified with isolationist views. The America First committee has the sponsorship, among others, of several United States senators. It certainly has not proposed anything contrary to the government of the United States or the principles on which it is founded.

American democracy is threatened from abroad, many Americans believe. It also is threatened at home when it is proposed to shut off a minority because a majority is strong enough in government—local, state or national.

Had this nation declared war, constitutional rights would now be suspended for the common good during the life and death struggle. So far, despite what the Florida officials may feel, no such emergency has been declared.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

M. H. CREAGER,
EDITOR,
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
MAY 6, 1941

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Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
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Eagle (1)
 Brooklyn, N. Y. *FB*
 Circ. 93,168

DATE *2-10-41*

'Nazis' Heckle Nye Outside Freeport Rally

Distribute 'Greetings From Fuehrer'
 As Isolationist Is Cheered by 1,200

Freeport, May 6--With the heckling confined to outdoor distribution of derisive literature, Senator Gerald P. Nye (R., N. D.) told 1,200 cheering listeners here last night that the United States has a "50-50 chance" of remaining out of the war.

At a rally of the South Shore chapters of the America First Committee, held in the Freeport High School, the isolationist asserted that keep-out-of-war sentiment had swept the country in the last three weeks to take the play away from a "war-mongering minority pressure group."

Two men in messenger uniforms outside the school lampooned the committee in facsimile copies of telegrams addressed to "All Members of the America Last Committee," and signed, "Ribbentrop, Goebbels and Goering."

'Greetings' from Fuehrer

"Der Fuehrer," the messages read, "sends greetings and best wishes for success of your presentation of 'Alice in Wonderland' at Freeport High School tonight. With the help of Lindbergh (Winken), Wheeler (Blinken) and Nye (Nod), we are sure that your ersatz American committee will succeed in softening, dividing and confusing America, preparing it for der great world order! Der Fuehrer has prepared."

Expressing belief that "even with our help England cannot win the war if winning the war means driving the Germans back across the continent," Senator Nye declared

that "Washington has found out that the American people have been led as far as they can be led in aiding another nation at war."

Stop Aid to Britain

The veteran legislator, who earlier proposed before 100 students of New York University that this country stop sending aid to Britain and thus make certain its future neutrality, added that the furtherance of democracy here demands "more frankness on the part of our national leaders."

He evoked cheers by crediting the President with pleading for freedom of speech for all the world and then remarking, "except Charles A. Lindbergh," and summed up a hasty review of the last election campaign with an assertion that he now has "more respect for Franklin Roosevelt than for Wendell Willkie."

Edgar J. Treacy of Woodmere presided at the rally, and the other speakers were Henry Van Rensselaer, Princeton University student; Mrs. John Theobald, chairman of the committee's Rockville Centre Chapter, and James A. Coveney, head of the Freeport Chapter, none of whom referred to the outdoor hecklers.

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AMERICA FIRST IN MIAMI.

Of course, the municipal authorities of Miami, Fla., have made themselves more than usually ridiculous by refusing permits for another appeasement bull session under the auspices of the America First (Next) Committee. The refusal is unconstitutional, and the America Nexters need only go to court to get the proper injunction papers. Then they can talk their heads off.

But the comical aspects of the squabble on both sides almost obscure the constitutional issue. The city and county authorities of the metropolis of meretricious Mazuma brand the America Nexters as "subversive," and give them the usual bum's rush meted out to Commies, I. W. W.'s and C. I. O. organizers in communities of the Miami type south of the Smith and Wesson line. To be "subversive" in Miami—well, that's the depth of something, and it's no wonder the America Nexters are boiling mad at the insult.

The city dads of Capone's city of refuge, and the county bosses of dubious Dade, probably do not understand the heinousness of applying a pet epithet like "subversive" to a body that contains so many gentlemen who believe that they have a copyright, even a divine right, to use the term on others.

Naturally enough, the America Nexters have used Phil La Follette to front for them in the controversy. The La Follette name is still worth something in a battle for free speech, even if Phil did run Glenn Frank out of the University of Wisconsin. But it would be a rare show if the America Nexters would use a more characteristic front. Names of a maverick like La Follette or a perennial Jeremiah like John Flynn are a case of misbranding when used as labels by the America Nexters.

Many of the big paying members, especially those whose contributions have not been made public, have never before been found in a free speech crusade. To several of them, free speech demonstrations have been "subversive" indeed, so to be called "subversive" themselves by a lot of carpetbagging machine politicians down in Florida swamps is simply excruciating.

However, they have wished it on themselves. One cannot play with pink and red pitch without getting red fingernails. Somehow the Miami incident seems to call for a new tale by Uncle Remus—"Bre'r Rabbit Meets a Red Tar Baby."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-6-41

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
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 Miss Gandy _____

DIVISION OF
 PRESS INTELLIGENCE
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Tribune (R)
 South Bend, Ind.
 Circ. 14,803 (E)
 19,254 (S)

DATE MAY 6 - 1941

'Face War Problems Calmly,' Oare Tells America First

"What are the real practical dangers to this country of a victory of either side in Europe?" Robert L. Oare, attorney, asked Monday afternoon when he addressed the South Bend chapter of the America First committee at a tea in the A. A. Eastman home, 2114 Portage avenue.

"Assuming it is to our advantage to aid one side or the other, just how much aid can we give before the losses we sustain by giving the aid outweigh any gains that might accrue?" he queried.

"Do we think it possible, and if possible, is it to our benefit to reestablish the status quo of the world prior to 1933? How far is it to our advantage to undertake to police the world and pass moral judgment on the acts of other nations? What can we do to protect America vs. all hazards—the

hazard of a Hitler dominated Europe is just one hazard—there are many more—both external and internal? Where, practically speaking, are we going and why are we going there?"

These questions, he asserted, are the practical problems that should be faced by America calmly. Admitting that he did not know the answers he declared that "the unfortunate thing about it is that the American public is not even discussing them."

Mr. Oare deplored the absence of logical answers to the questions which he said are usually met with an outburst of emotions and sentimentalism, but never facts and figures.

Mrs. Walter H. Baker, chapter president, presided at the business meeting. For tea, tables were decorated by white lilacs and red tulips. Mrs. H. E. Altgeld poured.

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Mr. Tolson _____
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 Miss Gandy _____

'SUBVERSIVE.'

Official discrimination in Miami, Fla., against the America First committee on the ground that it is "subversive" did not come as a surprise. Nobody knew precisely where it would happen first; but everybody knowing the nature of partisan politics expected such a manifestation somewhere. Practical politics being what it is it seemed inevitable that some local or state officials would decide that an organization opposed to the Roosevelt administration on the war issue was "subversive" and act accordingly.

Until the United States formally declares war on some nation or group of nations it will be the privilege of American citizens, organized or otherwise, to express opposition to sending young Americans to die overseas "for democracy." The America First committee is wholeheartedly endorsing national defense up to the point where it becomes a world crusade. If that is subversive doctrine the vast majority of Americans, not merely the America First committee, must be accused of a subversive attitude.

It might be a serious mistake to judge Florida or even Miami by the spurious patriotism proclaimed by the Miami politicians who are arrayed against the America First committee. Genuine Americans everywhere prefer to believe that the real spirit of Miami and Florida is expressed in the Miami Herald's editorial denunciation of the "mental hobbling" undertaken by the self-styled saviors of democracy who would destroy it at home even when the government is avoiding a formal declaration of war.

Tribune
 South Bend, Ind.
 Circ. 14,803
 19,254

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DATE JUN 8 1941

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AVERAGE CITIZEN SPEAKS HIS MIND.

" I DONT WANT WAR
ANY MORE THAN YOU DO BUT
I DONT PROPOSE TO LET THIS GUY
HITLER TAKE ME OVER.
AND DONT YOU CALL
ME A WAR-MONGER."



Charlotte Observer

May 7, 1941

Submitted by Charlotte Office.

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100-6702-A

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His Stand Is Quite Different

Editor The Chronicle—Sir: I have a letter from the America First Committee of California in which it says my name is listed in its files "as an enthusiastic supporter" of its movement. I wonder how many more "enthusiastic supporters" of my type it has on its lists?

I am for America first, not America last—after Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, thus far, and God knows how many more countries before they get to us.

I am for an America that rejects peace (!) terms such as those suggested recently in Japan.

I am for a United States that will live its own life, whether that be good, bad or indifferent, and not a German-Japanese dictated existence, however good in some respects that might happen to be.

Before the war started I favored a strong stand by the United States, which might have prevented the outbreak of war. And I favored immediate United States entry, which would certainly have had us farther along the road toward German defeat than we now are.

War now will be a terrible affair. I favor that rather than war later, when it will not only be yet more terrible, but also will cost this country its independence. If Germany is difficult to beat now, when we might have the resources of the British empire on our side, she will be an easy and certain victor when British aid is lacking or even lined up on the other side. I am for America first and America only.

I am not for England for England's sake, but I am for England or Russia or anything at all that will help us save this country by knocking hell out of our enemies while there is yet time.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN,
Professor of Hispanic History in
the University of California,
Orinda.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Jones
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

1941 7 12 11

Bund Rallies Appeasers for 'America First'

The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, organ of the German-American Bund, in its issue circulating today pleads: "Join the America First committee and continue to bombard your representatives in Congress with letters and telegrams of protest."

The appeal closes a front-page editorial, which begins with reference to "the speaking campaign conducted by Col. Lindbergh, Nye, Wheeler, Walsh, Clark and others." It ties in with an appeal printed in last week's issue for messages protesting against any proposals of convoys.

Feature Lindbergh's Speech.

Other columns on the front page contain quotations from Congressman Hamilton Fish, Senator Wheeler, and Col. Lindbergh, the last featured under a seven-column banner: "We Cannot Win This War for England." The issue devotes six columns, half in English and half in German, to the text of a speech delivered by Lindbergh over a week ago, and a column and a quarter to Berlin correspondence praising the Axis-Tokio pact.

"The voices of 'democracy,'" sneers an editorial inside, "have become somewhat faint lately."

The paper also prints a long address in German verse "To Albion" (England) which in translation reads in part as follows:

"... Not for long
Will the bad times continue;
You think yourself still so safe, too,
Behind your walls of water.

"German strength will not
weaken!

German mettle will not disappear!
In the depths, on the heights,

You know where to find the German soul.

"Therefore tremble, chief hangman!

Germany will not rest
Till the envy and pride of Britain
Break and fall like its masts!"

Justify Balkan Invasion.

Other contents of this issue include an editorial justifying Hitler's Balkan invasion, the standing department "From the Movement," and an item applying contemptuous terms to the United German Societies of Rochester, N. Y., because they donated their hall to a committee for Greek war relief.

This issue contains another installment of the serial, "Hitler Is Right." Like previous issues for some weeks, it carries a plug for Wilhelm Kunze's propaganda tract, "The Blood Is Holy."

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Carson ✓
Mr. Egan ✓
Mr. Gurnea ✓
Mr. Hendon ✓
Mr. Pennington ✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

100-4712-4

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-2-41

A Distinction He Repudiates

Editor The Chronicle—Sir: I have a complaint against the America First Committee. On January 12, 1941, I had written to Senator Burton K. Wheeler at Washington, D. C., requesting some information regarding the statements he made at the Chicago Round Table Conference. Instead of receiving the information I had requested, the America First Committee sent me a lot of un-called for propaganda regarding its organization and now, adding insult to injury, has proceeded to make me a member of the organization without my request.

I have to put it well before the America First Committee that I have no desire to join that organization or any other organization that will not support President Roosevelt's policy of all-out aid to world democracies fighting totalitarian aggression.

All true democratic Americans will always remember the speech Lindbergh delivered in Chicago Thursday night last week, and how his statement of "a beaten England" was greatly applauded by his audience, composed largely of Nazi, Fascist and Communist sympathizers and anti-democratic dupes.

I am returning to the committee the membership card sent me which would be an insult to any true democrat to have in his possession.

SIDNEY ELLIS.
San Francisco.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

JAN 14 1941

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AMERICA FIRST GROUP LISTS 4 MEETINGS

Growing interest in the fight of the America First Committee to keep the United States out of war has caused an increasing demand for America First speakers, Mrs. Elizabeth Landa, chairman of the Chicago chapter's speakers' bureau, announced today.

Speakers for the group will address four meetings tomorrow afternoon and evening, she said, and listed them:

John W. Maselter will discuss "Is This Our War?" at the Archer Road Kiwanis Club luncheon at 4270 Archer av.

CLUB TO HEAR FLYNN.

The Town Hall Discussion Club, which holds a meeting every week in conjunction with the radio broadcast from Town Hall in New York, will listen to John T. Flynn on "Should Our Ships Convoy Materials to Britain?" over the air, and to local comments on the same subject by Urban G. Willis, principal of the Pullman Technical High School. The meeting starts at 7 p. m. at 7020 Jeffery av.

Philip LaFollette, former governor of Wisconsin, will be the chief speaker at an America First rally in Hinsdale High School gymnasium, sponsored by the Hinsdale chapter of the America First Committee. State Representative Lotie Holman O'Neill will also speak, and Howard Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, will preside.

REV. O'BRIEN TO TALK.

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of apologetics in the graduate school of Notre Dame, will address a rally under the auspices of the Arlington Heights chapter in the Arlington Heights High School at 8 p. m.

The Evanston chapter of the America First Committee will sponsor a Negro anti-war rally Friday night in the auditorium of the Foster school in Evanston. William Robinson, prominent for his work with the Monumental Church, will speak. The meeting will open at 8 p. m. with the singing of patriotic songs.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Hendon
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Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-7-41

1,200 HEAR LA FOLLETTE TONIGHT

A capacity crowd of more than 1,200 is expected to hear Philip F. La Follette at a meeting under the auspices of the Hinsdale chapter of the America First Committee in the Hinsdale High School tonight.

La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, will discuss "War or Peace." He will share the platform with State Representative Lottie Holman O'Neill. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, will preside.

FATHER O'BRIEN TO SPEAK.

The Rev. Father John A. O'Brien, D. D., professor of apologetics at Notre Dame, will also speak tonight, addressing a rally in the Arlington Heights High School sponsored by the America First Committee.

The committee announced, meanwhile, that it has set a goal of a million letters and telegrams from American mothers to President Roosevelt, protesting against convoys and war, and timed to reach the White House Sunday, May 11—Mother's Day.

Sunday, in addition to being Mother's Day, has been designated "S. O. S." Day—Save Our Sons Day—by the America First Committee. Leaflets telling of the day and urging mothers to write or telegraph the President have gone out to more than 700 America First chapters in the United States.

STUART REMINDS.

R. Douglas Stuart, national director of the organization, said:

"It is altogether fitting that Mother's Day should be a day upon which the mothers of this country should appeal to the President to avoid sacrificing their sons on foreign battlefields.

"The mothers of America remember the several pledges made by Mr. Roosevelt that he would not send their sons to die abroad. They remember that no longer ago than October 30, 1940, he said:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again, and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
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Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Miss Gandy.....

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

SEVEN STEPS TO WAR

The President says AMERICA FACES ONE OF THE GREATEST CRISES IN HER HISTORY.

That is true. But who made this crisis? How did it come about? A war began in Europe. Another one of Europe's hundred wars. People said we must stay out. Congress said we must stay out. THE PRESIDENT SAID WE MUST KEEP OUT. He promised America he would not "intervene in Europe's wars."

Then somehow we began to meddle. And we proceeded to take seven steps—SEVEN FATAL STEPS. Each of these steps we took at the demand of the President. And as we took each step he soothed us—"We must aid Britain, but not with ships or men. Follow my lead," he said, "my way is the way to stay out of war."

Here are the steps we took:

STEP ONE. We amended the neutrality act and permitted the sale of arms for cash to the Allies. But no ships. No credits.

STEP TWO. The propaganda began. The slogans appeared. "This is our war." "We are next on Hitler's list." "He will ruin our trade if he wins." "We cannot live alone in a world of dictators." "We are helpless without the British Navy." The movies, the radio and many newspapers went into action. The country swarmed with British agents. American committees were formed to pour the propaganda over our minds.

STEP THREE. The President turned over a million Army rifles to a steel company, and it sold them at a bargain to Britain. We must aid Britain—but "short of war," said the President.

STEP FOUR. The President forced conscription—an Army of 1,500,000 men. Military experts said this Army can be explained in only one way—it is for use in Europe and Africa. But the President said, "We are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its presence, it will keep the threat of war away from our shores."

STEP FIVE. The President handed over 50 destroyers to Britain. He said: "This will keep us out of war. My way is the way of peace." Just after that in the election, he said: "I have said it before, and I will say it again and again, your boys will not be sent to foreign wars."

STEP SIX. The Lease-Lend Bill. That was a bill to lease, lend or give any part of our arms or Navy to Britain. Senator Wheeler said: "This is a bill to enable the President to carry on undeclared war on Germany." The war groups denounced him. Senator Barkley said: "This is an anti-war bill." When the bill was passed, Mr. Herbert Agar, high official of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, which occupies the adjoining column, said:

"There has been too much lying by the supporters of the lease-lend bill in the Senate and in the press . . . As one who had taken a leading part in supporting the bill, I prefer Senator Wheeler's interpretation of it . . . Our side kept saying it was a bill to keep America out of war. That is bunk." But the American people didn't know that.

STEP SEVEN. The following proposals:

By Secretary Stimson, the demand for convoys of ships to Britain with war supplies.

By Senator Pepper, White House spokesman, the demand for an expeditionary force to Dakar, troops to Singapore, and bombers to Japan to "make a shambles out of Tokio."

IF WE DO THAT, THAT MEANS WAR!

There are no more steps.

There is your crisis. No nation in Europe has attacked us. No nation in Asia has attacked us. Men in those countries have said harsh things about us, just as we have said harsh things about them. But in spite of that, in spite of all the promises to keep us out of war, to send aid short of war, to keep our boys at home, we are now on the BRINK OF WAR.

That is indeed a terrible crisis. But it is a crisis that was made right here in America, made by those who began to meddle in Europe's war and end by demanding that we go in. Going in means millions of men, countless millions of dollars, hundreds of thousands of dead American boys, hundreds of thousands of wounded boys, national bankruptcy, chaos—who knows—maybe revolution here when it is all over.

Is it too late to stop this? **NO, IT IS NOT.**

But nobody can stop it but you.

You can tell your Congressmen, your Senators, and above all your President, that you want his promise kept.

Do not be afraid to write.

Remember you are in the majority—83 per cent. of the American people are against war. This is your Government. It does not belong to the 17 per cent. who want war. Speak up. **WRITE THE PRESIDENT TODAY.**

YOU ALONE CAN SAVE AMERICA.

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

(Today's column was provided by the New York Chapter, which staged the Freedom Rally at Madison Square Garden, Wednesday night.)

All Out Against Hitler

By DR. FRANK KINGDON, Chairman, New York Chapter.

OUR COUNTRY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, faces at this moment the gravest danger of its entire history. This is the number one fact we have to face, and we have to face and do something about it right now.

THE PRIMARY QUESTION is not whether Great Britain can or cannot survive. It is whether the United States shall continue to be a free country. Hitler hates us as viciously as he hates Britain. He has said so, and his stooge Mussolini has echoed him. He will use all his power—economic, political and military—to impoverish, to weaken and to destroy us if he conquers Britain and becomes master of Europe and Africa, and, with the help of Japan, controls Asia.

HE IS AT WORK AT THIS MOMENT IN THIS COUNTRY through his consuls, his Bunds, and his other agents manufacturing opinion to keep us from acting until he has defeated Britain and is ready to tackle us alone. He is making capital out of every American who talks appeasement and defeatism. He is being supported by every anti-democratic individual and organization that is seeking to divide and weaken us. Hitler is the avowed enemy of the United States. Nobody here made him our enemy; he did it himself.

WE SUPPORT BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES BECAUSE THEY ARE MAKING OUR FIGHT. What they need is the weapons with which to carry on. These we are making in increasing quantities. But the goods we make must be delivered. They are no good at the bottom of the ocean. Therefore, we must act to help deliver the goods. The crucial place is the North Atlantic where the German attack is so successful that our whole future is threatened by it. The very danger is that this is no time to hesitate, but to do what needs to be done to assure the maximum aid to safeguard Britain against invasion and possible surrender.

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES believes that democracy must recognize its enemies, and without fear act to ensure their defeat. Hitler can be beaten. He is not a superman before whom all the nations must bow. His chief asset up to the present has been the hesitations of his opponents. America must not play into his hands by failing to make up its mind and to knit its will to defeat him.

America Spoke at the Garden

By GEORGE FIELD, Secretary, New York Chapter.

The most dramatic meeting in the history of Madison Square Garden and the greatest demonstration of the unity of the American people unfolded on Wednesday night. A true cross section of America spoke as if with one voice, the will of the American people that freedom shall triumph. Native and foreign born, rich and poor, capital and labor, Catholics, Protestants and Jews, old and young, rallied to the call of the New York Chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Wendell Willkie and Mayor LaGuardia met on a public platform for the first time and joined hands as a symbol of their devotion to the cause for which the small democracies of Europe have fought and sacrificed.

Contrast this meeting with one recently staged by the opposition to the policy of the American government. Contrast the tremendous applause and warm response at the mention of the name of the chosen leader of our people at the Garden meeting with the sullen jeers for our own leaders at the other meeting. While the loyal Americans at the Garden expressed their undying hatred for everything Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini stand for, there was not a murmur of disapproval of the dictators by the opposition. Whether they will it or not, the isolationists cannot stage a mass meeting in America without depending upon the active, small, pro-Nazi minority for their audience.

While the small minority of isolationists is preaching the doctrine of appeasement and defeat, the overwhelming majority of the American people, as was expressed at the Freedom Rally, have their hearts and their wills set for the ultimate triumph of the forces of right, of justice, and of liberty.

The rally sent its message to the President of the United States. Many who were unable to get into the Garden will want to urge the President to do all that is necessary to insure the safe delivery of the materials produced by the "Arsenal of Democracy."

SEND YOUR MESSAGE TODAY TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN, AND TO YOUR SENATORS. THE MAJORITY MUST EXPRESS ITSELF, AND THIS IS THE HOUR.

Tolson _____
 E. A. Tamm _____
 Clegg _____
 Glavin _____
 Ladd _____
 Nichols _____
 Rosen _____
 Tracy _____
 Carson _____
 Egan _____
 Gurnea _____
 Hendon _____
 Pennington _____
 Quinn Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Gandy _____

ANTI-WAR GROUP SPURNS BUND AID

German Organ Prints Flynn's
Letter Saying Its Readers Are
'Not Eligible' as Members

HAD URGED THEM TO JOIN

But America First Committee
Declares Hitler Supporters
Are Not 'Good Americans'

The America First Committee required and obtained yesterday the publication in full on the front page of The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter a letter rejecting the support of this organ of the German-American Bund, which has long proclaimed its devotion to the Hitler philosophy known as Nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung.

The officers of the Bund are also officers of the newspaper: G. Wilhelm Kunze, president; August Klapprott, vice president; Gustav A. Elmer, treasurer; and Willy Luedtke, secretary.

In publishing the letter, the editor of the Bund newspaper adds a printed explanation that he has "no desire to see the America First Committee suffer from the undeserved reflection cast on the Bund by the chosen minority who denounce the America First Committee as a pro-Nazi agency, with the same degree of injustice the Bund has had to endure in the past."

The letter, signed by John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter of the America First Committee, was printed in full as follows:

May 2, 1941

Editor,
Free American and Deutscher
Weckruf und Beobachter,
175 East Eighty-fifth Street, New
York City.

Dear Sir:

A copy of your newspaper has been mailed to me and my attention called to an article in which you ask your readers to join the America First Committee. Let me say to you that not only does the America First Committee not solicit their membership, but that they are not eligible for membership. The America First Committee is against America's entry into the war not because it approves of the philosophy, the government, the aggression or the methods of Hitler's Germany, but because it wishes to protect this nation from involvement in Europe's wars.

We do not want in our organization men who support the philosophy of Hitler's government, because we do not believe them to be good Americans. The very first and one of the indispensable qualifications for membership in our organization, as stated in all our literature, is that it is not open to those who are members of the Communist or Fascist parties or the German Bunds in this country, or those representing any foreign power which desires to involve us in this war.

May I suggest that you give this letter the same publicity in your newspaper as you gave to the article to which I have referred?

Yours very truly,

JOHN T. FLYNN

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. TIMES

DATE MAY 9 - 1941
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION.

✓

Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. E.A. Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

America First Group Spurns Bund Aid

The America First Committee today repudiated support of the German-American Bund in a letter published on the first page of the Bund newspaper, The Free American and Deutscher Wekruf und Beobachter. Signed by John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the committee, the letter read:

"A copy of your newspaper has been mailed to me and my attention called to an article in which you ask your readers to join the America First Committee. Let me say to you that not only does the America First Committee not solicit their membership, but that they are not eligible for membership.

"The America First Committee is against America's entry into the war not because it approves of the philosophy, the Government, the aggression or the methods of Hitler's Germany, but because it wishes to protect this nation from involvement in Europe's wars.

"We do not want in our organization men who support the philosophy of Hitler's Government, because we do not consider them to be good Americans."

"The very first and one of the indispensable qualifications for membership in our organization, as stated in all our literature, is that it is not open to those who are members of the Communist or Fascist parties or the German Bunds in this country, or those representing any foreign power which desires to involve us in this war.

"May I suggest that you give this letter the same publicity in your newspaper as you gave to the article to which I have referred?"

"Yours very truly,
"JOHN T. FLYNN."

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN

DATE MAY 9 - 1941

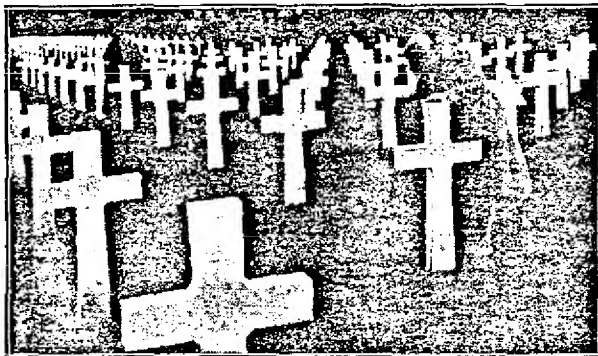
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Mother's Day



By KATHLEEN NORRIS

Mothers and Fathers of America:

These are our graves. In every one of them lies the forgotten dust of what was once a part of the glorious youth and strength and hope of America.

We dug these graves, we American mothers and fathers. We were frightened by lies of our immediate danger; danger from exhausted foes four thousand miles away across the ocean! We were blinded by propaganda; propaganda that included the stirring beat of drums, the thrill of martial music, the fluttering beauty of a thousand flags. We were excited by change; new phrases, new jobs, new action everywhere.

We sent our boys away, young and strong and splendid and brave. Some stumbled back, to fumble with Braille, to limp on crutches, to see in the eyes of all women horror of their disfigurement. Useful lives, young married joy, fatherhood, success were denied them forever.

Some didn't come back. They, in their soiled and blood-stained uniforms, when their broken limbs had ceased to struggle and their smashed jaws could moan no longer, were tumbled into these graves. You and I couldn't kneel beside them, dying, couldn't put one last kiss against the thick young hair we had kissed so often. They called to us in that darkening moment, but we couldn't hear.

Hear them now. Hear them crying out to us from their thousands upon thousands of graves. Crying out that we and they were deceived. That there is no democracy where we sent them to die, no peace, no brotherhood. That until those countries follow America's way of holding her neighbors in the bonds of friendship and understanding, there never will be peace overseas. Crying out lest every generation of our boys die in turn to protect trade rights, commercial privilege, imperial power. But never democracy, for these countries know not the meaning of the word.

Hear the voices we once loved so dearly calling to us: "Never again! Never again! Never again! Never again!"

S.O.S. — SAVE OUR SONS

MOTHER'S DAY IS SUNDAY—MAY 11th

Save America's Sons for Their Mothers

The drums of war are beating louder in this nation every day. BUT WE CAN be kept out of Europe's wars if YOU and others will demand of President Roosevelt and your Senators and Congressmen that they NOT sacrifice our youth to fight the battles of other nations.

WRITE NOW TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
DEMAND THAT HE FULFILL HIS PROMISES—KEEP AMERICA OUT OF
WAR. ALSO WRITE YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMAN.

Mothers and Fathers — Save Your Sons

Make It a Real Mother's Day for Every Mother in America

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

For Defense of America

[The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies desires that there be no doubt about where it stands; about what it believes is necessary for the defense of America. The following is a new statement of the Committee's basic policy, as released to the press of the nation today.]

The hour has come when this nation must face the facts. We can no longer evade the full demands imposed upon us by Hitler's threat to our liberties.

Step by step over the past twelve months the meaning of the world conflict to our existence has become clear to the American people.

We know that free institutions cannot be secure on this continent if annihilated on every other continent. Even if we could maintain our physical security, life would be a nightmare of industrial regimentation, conscription, taxation and eventually war.

To permit Britain to go down, China to be subjugated and the black-out of civilization to occur everywhere but in the Western Hemisphere, would be not only stupid, but indicative of a complete loss of moral values. We cannot allow the defense of Great Britain and her Allies to be overwhelmed. To assure its success, we have enacted the Lease-Lend Law to convert our nation into the arsenal of democracy.

But recent events have brought home to us one further realization: Our civilization can be made secure only by engaging the full strength and power of the United States in the common cause. With all of our resources the threat to our way of life and our liberty can and will be halted.

This ultimate issue can no longer be avoided. Each week of delay aggravates our peril, brings the war closer to our shores and will take its toll of American life and property. The issue should be met now, without evasion or reservation and with prompt action. We must assume our share of burden and sacrifice in the united defense of civilization.

URGE ENACTMENT OF SIX SPECIFIC MEASURES

To this end the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies now urges that the American people call upon their President and Congress for the immediate enactment of the following measures:

1. The declaration of a full state of national emergency.
2. Employment of the naval and air forces of the nation to safeguard the lifeline between the Western Hemisphere and the British Isles. Specifically we support use of American armed forces for police, convoy or in whatever way is most effective to insure delivery of our goods to those nations resisting aggression.
3. Co-operation with Great Britain and her Allies for the employment of our united military resources to safeguard the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic and the Pacific against further Axis aggression.
4. Effective aid to China. Rigid embargo against Japan. Clear indication to Japan of our determination to prevent a conquest of Singapore and the Dutch East Indies.
5. Freezing of Axis assets. Control of subversive propaganda and sabotage emanating from Axis consulates by whatever measures may be necessary, including severance of diplomatic relations.
6. Declaration of the intention of the United States to take its full responsibility in organizing enduring peace on the basis of political, social and economic justice. The American people must now prepare themselves to face this responsibility.

This course may lead to armed conflict. From Hitler's point of view we are already enlisted with his enemies. If it does not suit his purpose he will not attack us, no matter what the provocation. If it promises to advance his cause, he will attack us whenever and however he chooses. To those who stand in the path of his designs, the choice is never war or peace. It is submission to his will or resistance to the death.

This course may bring to us, as it has brought to other people who are enlisted in the cause of freedom, blood, toil, tears and sweat. It will unify the will and mobilize the resources of our own people. It will demand of us and win from us sacrifice and resolution. It will make possible control of sabotage and subversive conspiracies in our midst. It will hearten our Latin-American neighbors in the common defense of our American heritage. It will have a demoralizing effect upon Axis morale. It will bring unmeasured strength to the heroic defenders in the first lines of our common cause at this hour of their supreme trial. In the souls of men enduring subjugation under tyranny, it will kindle new hope and resistance.

FLYNN'S FLIMFLAM.

Members of the America First Committee, who have been quoting parts of recent Gallup Polls while ignoring other parts, are not fooling the people. The reaction of a large portion of the audience to the remarks of John T. Flynn at Thursday's Town Hall Meeting of the Air demonstrated that fact beyond any doubt. The audience forced Mr. Flynn into a very embarrassing position. It was particularly embarrassing because Mr. Flynn is justly famed as a meticulous researcher. He has repeatedly demonstrated his ability to ferret out obscure facts. He rightfully prides himself on his ability as a reporter. But, in his zeal for the cause he has espoused, he ignored facts unfavorable to that cause. Faced with the allegation that he was ignoring them, he pleaded ignorance.

Mr. Flynn quoted from the Gallup Poll of April 28 the statement that 81 per cent of the American people would vote to stay out of the war, while only 19 per cent would vote to go in. It is a tabulation no America-Firster neglects to mention these days. What they never mention, and what the audience at the Town Hall Meeting unsuccessfully sought to bring to Mr. Flynn's attention, was that the same poll showed that, while 81 per cent did not favor getting

into the war, 68 per cent nevertheless favor getting into the war, if it appears certain that there was no other way to defeat the Axis Powers.

When voices from the audience demanded that Flynn cite the rest of the Gallup Poll from which he was quoting, he replied:

"I never heard of any other poll."

Are we to believe that John Flynn, with his years of experience as a reporter, read only half of the Gallup release of April 28? His reputation has been built on discovering the jokers in small-type footnotes of corporation reports, legislative hearings and such. He is a master at it. But this time his foot slipped. He never saw that half of the poll. He never heard of it—or so he asserted.

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Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
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Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-10-4

Emy

Mr. G. H. ...
Mr. J. ...
Mr. B. ...
Mr. C. ...
Mr. D. ...
Mr. E. ...
Mr. F. ...
Mr. G. ...
Mr. H. ...
Mr. I. ...
Mr. J. ...
Mr. K. ...
Mr. L. ...
Mr. M. ...
Mr. N. ...
Mr. O. ...
Mr. P. ...
Mr. Q. ...
Mr. R. ...
Mr. S. ...
Mr. T. ...
Mr. U. ...
Mr. V. ...
Mr. W. ...
Mr. X. ...
Mr. Y. ...
Mr. Z. ...

SAVE OUR SONS PLEAS TO PILE UP IN WHITE HOUSE

Substantial progress in the campaign to place a million antiwar telegrams and letters in the White House tomorrow—Mother's day—was reported yesterday by national headquarters of the America First committee. More than 200,000 women already have sent "save our sons" pleas to President Roosevelt, according to reports from 70 local chapters. Mothers everywhere are responding to urgings contained in a

leaflet which declares against convoys and foreign wars, and demands that peace promises be kept. The telegrams and letters are being timed to reach the President today or tomorrow. Illinois chapters of the America First committee received more than 75,000 SOS leaflets.

160-4712

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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-10-4

Clipping from the
Richmond Times Dispatch
5-11-41

Landon Hits Suppression Of Speech

TOPEKA, KAS., (AP)—Alf M. Landon said yesterday things had reached the state of affairs in the United States "that citizens cannot advocate their idea of the realities of the English and American situation without being virtually accused of treason to their country."

"The suppression of free speech is always contagious," the 1936 Republican presidential nominee declared in a telegram to Robert L. Bliss, Minneapolis, to be read at an America First Meeting last night.

Landon called "a sin and a shame" an action of authorities in Miami, Fla., last week "in suppressing an America First Committee meeting."

"While there is a divided view on the course our country should take in entering the European war there is little division on the right of a man to say what course he thinks our nation should follow," the former Kansas Governor continued.

"There also is practically unanimous support for greater intensive national defense preparations and support of England with materials. That policy was agreed in in the last national election and if it is to be changed the President should submit his recommendations to the Congress."

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Drayton	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

100-4712-A

1,500 A DAY JOIN AMERICA FIRST DRIVE IN STATE

Membership in Illinois Now Over 200,000.

Memberships in the Illinois America First committee are rolling in at the rate of more than 1,500 a day, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced yesterday. The 69 downstate chapters and 20 Chicago units now have a total enrollment of more than 200,000 persons, compared with 64,000 at the time the lease-lend bill was passed.

With administration leaders edging the United States closer to war every day, citizens of Illinois are rallying under the banner of America First, Mrs. Fairbank said. Persons who want to keep America out of the European conflict were urged to write to the America First offices at 122 South Michigan avenue.

No Fees for Joining Group.

"There are no membership dues," she pointed out, "but contributions to carry out the work of America First will be accepted, if the person cares to give."

Two antiwar rallies sponsored by the America First committee will be held today, Mrs. Fairbanks said. Maynard C. Krueger, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, will address the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee at 4 p. m. in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue. The Earleville chapter of the America First committee is sponsoring a rally at 3 p. m. in the Presbyterian church at Earleville. John W. Maselter will be the speaker.

Debate British Aid Tomorrow.

Robert D. Ross, former assistant United States attorney, will represent the American First committee in a debate on all-out aid to Britain at 736 Lake street, Oak Park, at 8 p. m. tomorrow. His opponent will be Prof. James S. Cox, head of the history department at Northwestern university, representing the Federal Union Now group. The debate will be sponsored by the Oak Park chapter of the America First committee.

America First speakers will address two meetings Tuesday night. Dr. Paul Hutchinson, editor of the Christian Century magazine, will speak before the Evanston chapter of the America First committee at 8 p. m. in the community room of the State bank building in the suburb.

Norman E. Saunders will be the principal speaker at a meeting of the Northwest Youth division in Humboldt Boulevard temple at 1908 Humboldt boulevard. The meeting will start at 9 p. m.

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Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-11-41

Pittsburgh Press
Pittsburgh, Pa.
May 11, 1941

Cur

Phil LaFollette to Speak At 'America First' Rally

Former Wisconsin Governor to Be Here Tomorrow Night

The first rally of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the America First Committee will be held tomorrow night at North Side Carnegie Hall with Philip F. La Follette, member of the famous Progressive Party family who served three times as Governor of Wisconsin, as the chief speaker.

Mr. La Follette's appearance here will be one of several addresses he is scheduled to make throughout the nation under the America First Committee's auspices.

He will be introduced at the North Side meeting by Dr. Judson A. Crane, of the Pitt Law School, who was one of Mr. La Follette's instructors when the latter was a law student at the University of Wisconsin.

'National Chaos' Foreseen

Presiding at the rally will be John B. Gordon, executive vice chairman of the Pittsburgh Chapter.

Concerning Mr. La Follette's Pittsburgh address, K. D. Magruder, secretary of the local America First unit, says it "comes at a time when a certain minority group in favor of our plunging completely into the current European combat is making a final attempt to swing an unwilling public into a situation which at the very best can result only in national chaos."

Open to Public

The meeting is open to the public and there is no charge for admission.

Mr. La Follette had also been scheduled to address the student body at Carnegie Tech tomorrow afternoon but that talk was cancelled under rules laid down by the Faculty Executive Board.



PHILIP LA FOLLETTE

"America First" rally speaker.

The board had agreed to Mr. La-Follette's appearance on condition that a speaker advocating aid to Britain also appeared on the same program. Such a speaker could not be obtained so the program at Tech was called off.

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100-111-111

Mr. Tolson.....
 Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
 Mr. Clegg.....
 Mr. Foxworth.....
 Mr. Glavin.....
 Mr. Ladd.....
 Mr. Nichols.....
 Mr. Rosen.....
 Mr. Carson.....
 Mr. Egan.....
 Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
 Mr. Nease.....
 Mr. Tracy.....
 Miss Gandy.....

WHEN IT COMES TO SMEARING.

America First leaders have objected to being called appeasers. They resent it when the support they are receiving from the Bund and other subversive elements is mentioned. They say this is "smearing" them. And the implication is that they would like to conduct the debate on a high plane, without name-calling.

But what happens in their meetings? There, name-calling is by no means frowned upon. Senator Wheeler can suggest, without reprimand or interruption, that our Army and Navy may refuse to obey their commander in chief. Cries of "Traitor" can be heard when Mr. Roosevelt's name is mentioned, and the President of the United States can be booed.

Only last Wednesday, at an America First rally, the national vice-chairman of the committee, who has herself complained of "smear tactics against present and prospective members of the organization," had these things to say of Henry L. Stimson, secretary of state under President Hoover, and now Secretary of War under President Roosevelt:

"Does Mr. Stimson propose to violate the Constitution of the United States? . . . Does he propose to violate the Neutrality Act of 1939? . . . Does he propose to fight in China to protect a few investments? . . . Mr. Stimson may declare war, but he will not fight it. . . . Wrong Horse Harry is to have his war if the people permit. . . . He has been itching for war for a long time. . . . Stimson is a 'scared old man.'"

Smearing? Oh, no. Just arguing—just debating—in the America First manner.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-12-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

The organizations are free to use any space without interference or editing by The News. They, however, must accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the Committee to Keep America by Aiding the Allies, 100 N. 4th St., New York City)

Wars to End Wars

The Congressional Record lists the following "high-minded, idealistic" wars that have been fought abroad since only the beginning of the last century—

- 1801 The old German Empire breaks up, and all territory on the left bank of the Rhine is ceded to France.
- 1802 French aggressions in Holland, Italy and Switzerland.
- 1805 England declares war on Spain. France fights Austria.
- 1806 Napoleon enters Berlin.
- 1807 Napoleon defeats Russia.
- 1808 Napoleon invades Spain.
- 1810 France annexes Holland. Turks driven out of Balkans.
- 1812 War starts between United States and England.
- 1812 Napoleon declares war on Russia.
- 1814 France invaded from all sides. Napoleon to Elba. British seize and burn Washington.
- 1815 Napoleon leaves Elba, is defeated by British and Germans at Waterloo, then sent to St. Helena for life.
- 1816 Holland annexes Belgium.
- 1817 British wars in India.
- 1822 Greeks and Turks at war. Civil war in Spain.
- 1823 French Army enters Spain.
- 1824 British battle for Burma.
- 1825 British war on Turkey.
- 1826 British war from Greece.
- 1827 British war against Romania.
- 1829 England and Austria intervene against Russia.
- 1830 Revolution in Poland and France. Belgium revolts from Holland.
- 1831 Prussia and Austria aid Russia against Poland.
- 1832 Egypt revolts against Turkey.
- 1838 French bombard Mexican ports. Debt collection, old style.
- 1839 Britain wars on China.
- 1848 Schleswig-Holstein fights Danish annexation.
- 1849 Danish-Russian War.
- 1850 Britain blockades Greece. Prussia and Austria war.
- 1854 France and England war against Russia.
- 1856 British war on China and Persia.
- 1864 Germans defeat Danes.
- 1866 War between several German states. Austria wars on Italy.
- 1868 Britain invades Abyssinia. Spanish revolution.
- 1870 Franco-German War.
- 1871 Alsace-Lorraine goes to Germany. Back to France in 1918, and back to Germany in 1940.
- 1874 Spanish Civil War.
- 1876 Balkan wars.
- 1877 Civil war in Japan. Russia wars on Turks.
- 1879 British war on Zulus.
- 1880 Boers and British battle.
- 1881 France wars on Tunis.
- 1882 British wars on Egypt.
- 1883 British wars on Korea.
- 1884 British wars on Abyssinia.
- 1885 British wars on Russia, France, Britain, Italy, United States, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Portugal and Montenegro.
- 1886 many, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.
- 1887 Japan seizes Manchukuo.
- 1888 Italy takes Abyssinia.
- 1889 Japan develops an "incident" in China. Sino-Japanese war.
- 1890 Germany takes Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.
- 1891 Present war starts.

—and the interventionists now tell us, if we fight just one more war, it will end all their wars!

Do you want to entangle America in another of these wars? The interventionists promised us in 1917 that we were fighting "to end war."

If we fight to "end war" in 1941, in ten or twenty years we may have to fight to "end war" again.

You Can Stop the War-Makers!

Write or wire the President and your Senators and Congressman today. DEMAND THAT THEY KEEP THE PRESIDENT'S SACRED PLEDGES TO KEEP THIS COUNTRY OUT OF WAR.

Get others—your friends, relatives, associates in business—to write or wire now. YOUR LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS WILL BE HEEDDED.

You must act now . . . before it is too late. Your own and your children's heritage—your American way of life—may be at stake.



This picture gives you a glimpse of a section of the vast audience which packed Madison Square Garden last Wednesday night and overflowed thousands into the streets. The loudest roar of approval given by that audience was the voice of the American majority revealing what is now its most intense concern. That roar came when Wendell Willkie said:

"We want those cargoes protected and we want those cargoes protected at once and with less talk and more action."

What Mr. Willkie believes and what the cheering thousands at the Garden believed is that the job of the United States is to see that what is produced for use on our first line of defense is not sent to the bottom of the sea.

If you believe that there must be less talk and more action, go into action today by wiring or writing the President and your Congressmen to use our navy to protect shipment of war materials to Britain.

Seven Steps to Slavery

If we would know what are the seven steps not only to war but to defeat and slavery, we need only remember the steps taken by countries which have already become victims of Hitler's aggression.

Here are the seven steps to slavery: steps taken by those

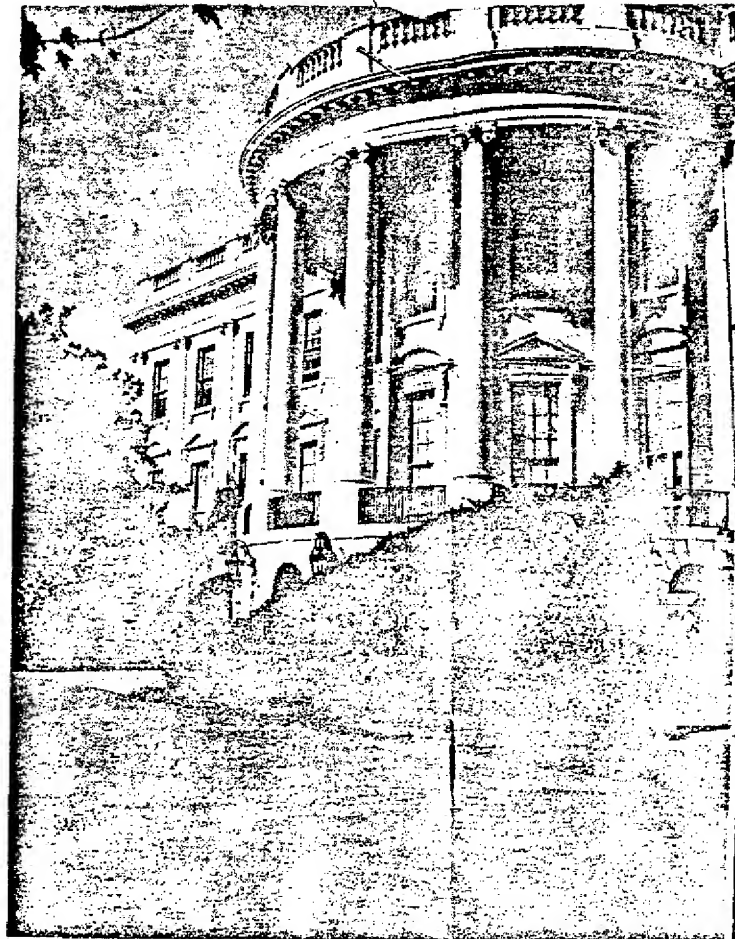
still standing, fighting with us, and the war-makers is no man's business. And yet there is a country in America that would have our country on the same path.

In the foregoing columns the seven steps were enumerated as "steps to war." They were not an entirely different path than those which we know did lead to war. If they had not been taken, not the Allies, as our first line of defense, but Britain probably would have been defeated by now and Hitler would be on their way to Latin America. And had we not taken any of these "steps"—conscription—we would be left waiting for the day when the Little Democracies for our defense.

If these seven steps had not been taken, we would have been sitting idle while war rushed at us. All the devastation Europe is summed up in these seven steps. But the America First Committee says they should not have been taken.

The final step to which the America First Committee objects is use of our navy to assure material aid to Britain. Not to take this step would be to surrender the last bulwark between Hitler and America. To fail to take this step would put us in greater peril than the abandonment of Czechoslovakia put France and Britain.

WILL HE DO IT ?



THE PEOPLE'S WHITE HOUSE

HERE, in this historic mansion, sits a man who holds in his hands the weightiest, the most momentous decision in American history.

Last October 30th, President Roosevelt made a speech in Boston. When he spoke the situation in Europe was much as it is now. France had been beaten. Norway, Holland, Denmark had been overrun. Britain was being mercilessly attacked from the air. The future looked dark for her. Yet at that moment, in those circumstances, President Roosevelt said in that speech:

"While I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I GIVE YOU ONE MORE ASSURANCE. I have said this before and I will say it AGAIN and AGAIN and AGAIN, your boys will not be sent into any foreign wars."

The American people have trusted this solemn pledge. Today 81 per cent. of those people expect this pledge to be fulfilled. But a small group of war-minded men are working day and night to drag the country into war. In spite of the warnings that we are not prepared to fight a war in Europe, Asia and Africa; in spite of the opposition of the American people, they are willing to hurl the nation into war even though by so doing they

sacrifice our economic system, pour out the blood of our sons, bankrupt the nation and destroy Franklin D. Roosevelt himself.

They say to the President: "TO HELL WITH YOUR PLEDGE TO THE PEOPLE!" They call on him to convoy ships to the war zones; to occupy Singapore; to declare a national emergency in order to silence the opposition to war. They ask him to break his solemn promise to the nation. WILL HE DO IT?

Will the President listen to the war-minded men who flock about him? Or will he listen to the voices of the hundred million people against war which come up to him from the farms, the workshops, the homes of America?

These hundred million men and women say to him: "You have said to us, Mr. President, that you will not send our boys to fight in any foreign war; that you will say it again and again and again. Now, Mr. President, in this solemn hour of decision, we ask you to SAY IT AGAIN. The men who urge you to lead us to disaster tell us they believe you will break your word to us. We say we do not believe that monstrous slur upon your honor."

The handful of war-minded men are powerful. They have access to the White House. They can

talk directly to the President. You, the People, cannot all crowd into the White House. But you have the power of numbers. You are the majority. This is your country. THE WHITE HOUSE IS THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE. You can enter it by means of a letter or a post-card or a telegram.

Write to the President. Your letter will be received, noted, classified, counted—AND HEHEDED. WRITE TODAY. WRITE TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—just a simple line protesting against war, against convoys, against any steps that lead to war. Tell him you remember his promise and that you rely on it. Tell him you remember that he said: "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." This is something YOU can do TODAY to save your country.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

NEW YORK CHAPTER, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York City
Phone 3-5425

Please enroll me as a member of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power. I wish to support the America First Committee.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

I enclose \$_____ to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

[The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money but you need not contribute to become a member.]

This advertisement is placed by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, which has no list of wealthy backers. It depends on the contributions of the plain people to finance it. It urges you to contribute as generously as possible to pay for this advertisement and others like it.

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

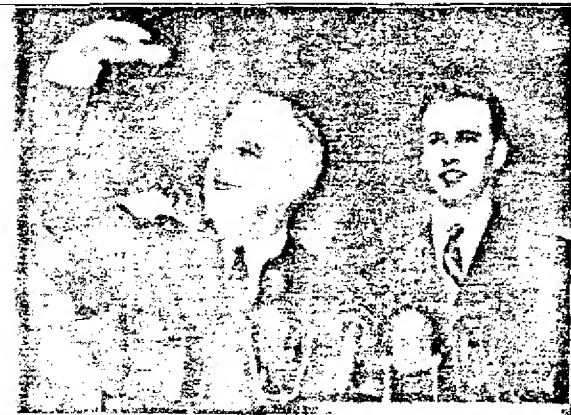
The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc.,
515 Madison Ave., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies,
8 W. 40th St., New York City)

ay It Again, Mr. President!

What Is Ours to Choose?



This is a picture of President Roosevelt addressing a great
audience at Boston, October 30, 1940.
What is he saying to these voters?
Here are his words:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers
and mothers, I give you one more assurance.

"I have said this before, but I shall say it
AGAIN and AGAIN, and AGAIN, your boys
are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

"They are going into training to form a
force so strong that, by its very existence, it
will keep the threat of war far away from our
shores.

"Yes, the purpose of our defense is de-
fense."

These words were spoken after France had fallen, Denmark,
and, Belgium, Norway and Poland had been invaded, and
land was under aerial bombardment.

IF THESE WORDS WERE RIGHT THEN, THEY
ARE EQUALLY RIGHT TODAY.

* * *

President Roosevelt will speak again to the nation on
27.

The American people are waiting to hear what he will say.

Those mothers and fathers to whom he made that pledge, say
him:

MR. PRESIDENT, SAY IT AGAIN!

You Can Stop the War-Makers

The Legislators in Washington are your elected officials. Your
long count with them.

Write or wire the President at the White House today. Write
to your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
to or wire your Representative at the House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Tell them you are opposed to convoys and to war. Tell them you
and they keep the President's sacred pledges to keep us out
of it.

Get others—your friends, relatives, business associates—to
do.

The majority of Americans who stand firmly against war
make their opposition known—NOW—before it is too
late.

This is the people's fight to save America.

The United States has not the choice between peace and war. We
do not have this alternative any more than Czecho-Slovakia, Poland or
Scandinavia had it.

As things are today this is a matter that lies in the hands of Hitler
and he has made entirely clear what are his intentions.

In this column last week, Livingston Hartley wrote that Hitler could
invade the United States, and told how. The highest military experts
agree that the United States is not impregnable.

No one disputes that Hitler and Mussolini have huge Fifth Columns
in Latin America. We know something about the immense Fifth Columns
the Axis has in the United States. These cost vast sums and require
skilled Nazi and Fascist agents, who could be used for much needed service
to the Axis elsewhere.

The Axis is not spending money and men on this hemisphere for the
fun of it. These Fifth Columns are here for the same purposes that Hit-
ler's Fifth Columns were in Scandinavia and the Low Countries. The
United States is in the same peril that these conquered countries were
in a little over a year ago.

We Do Have One Important Choice:

But we do have a choice that Norway, Belgium and Holland did not
have. We can choose between waiting for Hitler to come to America and
helping to stop him on the other side of the Atlantic.

We can choose to wait until Hitler makes America a battlefield—
the modern kind of a battlefield where children and women and the aged
are defenseless against death from the air. Or we can choose to do what
is needful in helping to end the war by defeating the barbarians on the
fields they have already made bloody thousands of miles away.

We can make the choice. We have already made it. By Presidential
proclamation, by action of the Congress, by the clear demand of an over-
whelming majority of the American people we have declared our purpose
to give aid in the battle to stop Hitler where it is now being fought. This
we have done in the determination that American soil shall not be drenched
with blood. But having made this choice, we have yet to determine that
it shall be fully effective.

For an army command to hesitate about making the effort necessary
to keep a line open from the base of supplies to the front line of defense
would be criminal. It is as bad for us to hesitate about doing what is
necessary to keep the supply line open from America, the Arsenal of
Democracy, to the front line of America's defense, where Hitler must
be stopped.

Mr. Hoover's Fallacy.

In his speech Sunday night, Herbert Hoover counselled doing nothing
to protect the supply line.

We have all due respect for Mr. Hoover's sincerity and his abilities
in fields where he has achieved success. But his counsel should not be
heeded on a matter of this kind. Herbert Hoover was President when
Japan invaded Manchuria. His Secretary of State, our present Secretary
of War, Henry L. Stimson, wanted the United States to participate in
joint international action to stop Japanese aggression. If this had been
done, probably the world would have suffered none of the wars that
followed. But Mr. Hoover would have none of it.

Herbert Hoover could have led in action ten years ago which might
well have meant enduring peace for the world. He did not. Would it be safe
to listen to his advice on how to escape the consequences of the calamity
he could have done much to prevent?

Let Britain have every available American weapon, regardless of
temporary unpreparedness at home, Mr. Hoover advised. He said that in
eight or ten months America's industry will be capable of arming both
Britain and America to the teeth. But do not, he advised, use the American
Navy to assure delivery of these weapons.

Weapons are Useful Only When Delivered.

How can we let Britain have the weapons, if the supply line is not
kept open? It would be as sensible to attempt to save a man from starva-
tion by cooking food for him and leaving it untasted in the kitchen.

The best weapons in the world will not stop Hitler when piled up on
American docks or when lying at the bottom of the Atlantic.

What good will it do if we are able to arm ourselves and Britain to
the teeth in eight or ten months if Britain has by that time been defeated?
And Hitler may be victorious before eight months have passed if we do not
deliver the goods to Britain now.

If the Battle of the Atlantic is lost, Britain will be lost. If Britain
is lost, we will have to defend ourselves against Hitler in America. If the
American Navy is not used, the Battle of the Atlantic probably will be lost.

There is no time to waste!

We should act this week!

You must lose no time in wiring or writing the President,
your Senators, your Representative, that you support use of con-
voys to keep the lifeline open.

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

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(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

We ARE Winning The Fight for Peace

This is a call to the 81 per cent. of the American people who are firmly opposed to our going into a foreign war. It is a call for courage and for action.

We are winning this fight against war. The voices of the plain American people are being heard in Washington. Our President, our Senators and our Representatives are beginning to realize now that we Americans stand unyieldingly for full National Defense . . . but that we refuse to fight again for foreign causes on foreign battlefields.

For the first time, AMERICANS FIRST are taking the initiative in this issue of War or Peace. And they are turning the tide against convoys, against war, toward peace and unassailable security at home.

The next few weeks may be the most decisive in our history. They may determine the fate of America for generations to come . . . whether we are to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives on foreign soil, disrupt our economy through billions of dollars in new taxes, submit to a dictatorship at home, possibly only for the duration of the war, but probably for a century . . . or whether we are to strengthen ourselves, through peace, to a position of such power that no nation will ever dare attack us.

In this critical period you of the 81 per cent. must make your influence felt.

You who elected President Roosevelt or voted for Wendell Willkie on their promises to keep America out of war, must insist that these sacred pledges be kept with the people.

You who have accepted Aid-to-Britain and the Lend-Lease Bill on the assurances of your Senators and Representatives that such acts will keep us out of war, must insist now that they prove their assurances by taking no further steps to bring us into war.

We have followed our President and our elected Representatives down the line until now . . . and now the cry is being raised in Washington for convoys to the war zones.

CONVOYS MEAN SHOOTING AND SHOOTING MEANS WAR.

To our President who has pledged peace, and to our Senators and Representatives who have assured us they will lead us to peace, we must say now:

NO CONVOYS AND NO WAR!

This fight for peace can be won only with your help.

Write or wire President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Congressman at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Get others to write or wire.

DO NOT BE AFRAID TO WRITE. The President and Legislators in Washington are your elected representatives. They will not lead the nation to war if we of the majority prove to them that we are determined in our opposition to foreign war.

You must act now. In the critical weeks that lie ahead, **YOU MUST MAKE YOUR OPPOSITION KNOWN.**

A little sacrifice of your time and a few cents in stamps . . . NOW may save hundreds of thousands of American lives and billions of dollars in taxes later.

THIS IS YOUR FIGHT TO SAVE AMERICA.

TONIGHT—BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Attend the America First Rally to keep the United States out of war.

Hear the Hon. Philip M. LaFollette, former Governor of Wisconsin; Kathleen Norris, noted author; the Hon. James Van Zandt, Congressman from Pennsylvania and former National Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
Lafayette Ave. and Ashland Pl.
Brooklyn

8:00 P. M.

ADMISSION FREE

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

You cannot believe that a free America could exist when encircled by a world ruled by Hitler.

Therefore, to keep America free, write or wire the President, your Senators and your Representative that you favor use of our Navy to convoy goods to Britain.

If Hitler Wins

What the Axis Gets if We Let Britain Fail

HITLER GETS:

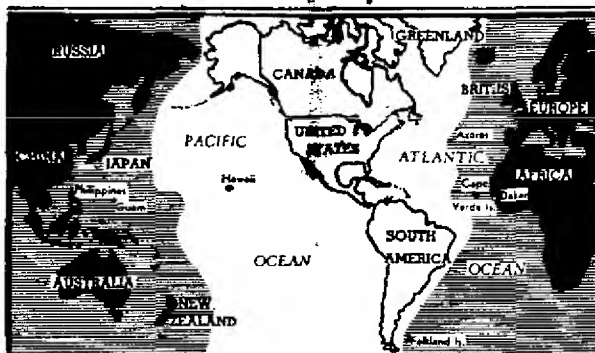
1. Permanent possession of key Atlantic bases and islands: Iceland, Gibraltar, Dakar, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands.
2. Legal claim on French, Dutch and British possessions—Martinique, key base in West Indies; Dutch Islands in Caribbean, the Guianas, British and French islands in Pacific south of Hawaii.
3. Undisputed mastery of Europe, Africa and Southwest Asia.
4. Control of the remainder of the French fleet and probably some of the British fleet.
5. Possession of great shipbuilding, armament and aircraft works in Great Britain, France, Holland and Czechoslovakia—enough to assure the Axis permanent advantage in naval and military armament over the United States.
6. A hundred and fifty million slaves who must work for him or starve.

JAPAN GETS:

7. Final victory over China.
8. Singapore and Dutch East Indies—and therefore control of the United States rubber supply.
9. A position that assures success of attack on Australia if she wishes to do so.
10. Possibly the Philippines.

—in short, Germany, Italy and Japan get unlimited raw materials for their war machines—steel, oil, copper, rubber, etc.—and the power to shut off the United States from rubber.

And This Is What the Map Will Look Like!



America First Leader Assailed as Fascist

John B. Hughes, radio commentator, participating last night in an American Citizenship week program at Veterans' Auditorium, charged that the America First Committee in Northern California has been "penetrated" by subversive, pro-Fascist elements.

"A notorious Fascist, a supporter of the Silver Shirts, and a rabid anti-Semite, recently was appointed chairman of an important America First chapter in Northern California," Hughes asserted.

KNOWN TO F.B.I.

"This man's support of the Goebbels propaganda machine is known to the FBI and other Federal agencies. In the same community another chapter of America First recently elected as its leader a man who pleaded guilty to a Federal offense.

"I am sure that the legitimate and sincere element in America First and other isolationist organizations doesn't want to make bed-fellows of such people. And as one loyal American to another, I call upon them now to purge their ranks of such individuals."

Hughes was the final speaker at the meeting, at which a "progress report" on national defense provided the theme. Other speakers included Stuart R. Ward, Major Herbert T. Hunt, Captain C. S. McDowell, U. S. N., ret., and Alexander Watchman.

WILL JOIN IN TRIBUTE

San Francisco's jurists and attorneys will join this morning in tribute to the right of trial by jury, as a phase of the city's second annual observance of American Citizenship week.

When Federal, Superior and Municipal Courts open at 10 o'clock, attorneys will rise to preface proceedings with a tribute to one of the salient prerogatives of American citizenship.

At noon, the Barristers' Club and Queen's Bench will meet in joint session at a "Trial By Jury Day" luncheon at 241 Pine street. Professor Max Radin of the University

of California will speak on "Historical Development of Trial by Jury." San Francisco Section, Council of Jewish Women, yesterday.

The week-long celebration, planned under direction of Mayor Rossi's Citizens' Committee, embraces numerous activities emphasizing the precious quality of democratic liberties—freedom of worship, freedom of speech and assembly, and freedom of press and radio.

A SPECIAL PROGRAM

The Parents' Assembly of the Visitation Valley Community Center, will hear a special citizenship week program at its luncheon today at the Center.

Raymond Schoen of the Barristers' Club, will speak at 2 p. m. today before the Glen Park Parent-Teachers' Association. And the interfraternal council will bring together representatives of the city's many fraternal bodies in a citizenship smoker at 7 p. m.

John B. Molinari, secretary of the Columbus Civic Club, will speak on "Trial by Jury" at the third of the week's public school forums. Tonight's forum, open to the public, will be held at the Glen Park School.

Superior Judge Thomas M. Foley was the principal speaker at the Citizenship week luncheon of the

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

MAY 14 1941

LA FOLLETTE AT PEACE RALLY

Brooklyn Meeting Urges President Keep Pledge.

More than 4,000 persons who attended a rally of the Brooklyn chapter of the America First Committee called upon President Roosevelt today to abide by his campaign promises and keep the United States out of war.

Unanimously they adopted a resolution to this effect at the meeting last night at the Brooklyn Academy of Music at which former Gov. Philip F. LaFollette of Wisconsin and other speakers assailed administration steps as leading the nation into the European conflict.

Mr. LaFollette referred to Secretary of the Navy Knox and Secretary of War Stimson as "two Republican jokers running wild in the New Deal" and accused them of trying to frighten the American people into a war the people do not want.

Other speakers included Representative James Van Zandt of Pennsylvania, Kathleen Norris and John T. Flynn. The Rev. Dr. Gideon Olson, pastor of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church at Third avenue and Pacific street, Brooklyn, was chairman. The Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society, delivered the invocation.

Mr. LaFollette held that Secretary Stimson's recent speech was downright defeatism, containing, instead of an expression of faith in America an admission of weak-

ness and failure—an America so afraid that we must "hide behind the British fleet and hope that it will save our skins for us."

He declared the President should eliminate from his cabinet those who publicly urge him to break his pledge to the nation.

"He should at once make clear to our people and to Britain that he intends to keep our aid short of war," Mr. LaFollette asserted. "He should bring our ships back to our side of the Atlantic and thus abandon this attempt to take us to the war. The time has come for Americans to get their bearings, to find out exactly where they stand right now."

Text of Resolution .

The resolution was introduced by Edward I. Cullen and read: "This audience hopes that it is your earnest wish to keep America free of war unless there is an act of aggression by any foreign Power or any provocation that would justify the republic in taking up arms to defend itself.

"We believe that we have no right to provoke a foreign Power to war with the United States by acts of aggression upon our part. We beg you in the name of God and humanity and the unity of the United States to keep the pledges of your election campaign."

A detail of 325 police under Deputy Inspector Louis Schilling were assigned to the meeting, but no disorder was reported.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. SUN.

DATE MAY 15 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION.

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

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(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 615 Madison Ave. and 5 East 47th St., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C. Today's column is provided by the New York Chapter.)

Why The War-Makers Smear Lindbergh

Bishop Manning, Episcopal Bishop of New York, demands immediate entry into the war. A number of writers, poets and preachers also clamor for war at once.

War is a FACT—a grim and terrible fact. But those who want war—"war to the death," "war to the uttermost"—refuse to treat it as a fact. They are full of rosy, glamorous thoughts of high crusading. In the pulpit and at the typewriter it is "high crusading." On the battlefield it is a FACT.

This explains the furious anger at Charles A. Lindbergh. He insists that America face the facts. And now he finds two powerful supporters for what he has been saying. Lindbergh said:

"We are not in a position to wage a successful war in Europe under present conditions. We ourselves are not prepared, and even if we were, where would we send our soldiers to fight? How are we to force a landing on the European continent against the prepared positions of the strongest military power in the world?"

Then all the war-poets, war-columnists, war-preachers cried out: "Defeatist."

But now comes former President Herbert Hoover. He told the American people Sunday night:

"America is yet unprepared even for adequate defense... our industry will not be prepared for another eight or ten months to produce enough of the tools of war to equip our own defense, and at the same time supply the needs of Britain. We do not have men sufficiently equipped, and planes, tanks and guns to meet 300,000 Germans, to say nothing of over 5,000,000 of them... we have no substantial air force of the type being used in this war."

And so the pulpit and the typewriter go into a gallant eruption against Hoover, calling him a defeatist. Facts annoy such men.

But now along comes another witness for Lindbergh, who corroborates much that Lindbergh has said. He is one who knows. He is Hanson Baldwin, military authority of the New York Times. Mr. Baldwin has written a book—"United We Stand"—which every man should read. The war-clerics, the war-poets, the war-columnists will not like it. It is too full of facts—GRIM, SOBERING FACTS.

Like Lindbergh and Hoover, this eminent military writer says we must begin by facing facts. Like Lindbergh, he reminds us that the French were not told how weak they were, and that the British were told they were winning the blockade. Like Lindbergh, he recalls that the French were disunited and the British united, but unenthusiastic about the war. And like Lindbergh, he says we cannot carry on a successful war unless 90 per cent. of our people are ENTHUSIASTIC for the war.

He says we have no plan of defense either for immediate war or long-range preparations. He warns that such a war might be a painfully long affair. He laments that "we are offered a cheap and bloodless participation," but THAT IT CANNOT BE. If we go to war, he tells us, we must put armies on the Continent and perhaps in Europe, Asia, Africa. And he repeats what Lindbergh and every authority knows—that "to land forces upon a hostile shore in the face of the enemy is the most difficult operation in military art." If England can hold her island to use as a base we may be able to aid her to the extent of a stalemate. But if she is forced to abandon its defense after we come in we cannot help her.

We have not got the air force. We will not have enough planes until the middle of 1942—if we are lucky. Our Army well into 1942 will be merely "an aggregation of half-trained and half-equipped youths."

No man would buy a lot of ground without facts. No man would go into a modest business without facts. But these men want to go into a war—the greatest of wars—and denounce any man who insists that they consider the facts.

Plan now to hear Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh and others at the huge America First Rally at Madison Square Garden, May 23d. And meanwhile—

WRITE THE PRESIDENT, YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES TODAY. URGE THAT THEY KEEP THE U. S. OUT OF FOREIGN WARS.

America Speaks

Herbert Bayard Swope Jr., Youth:

"Many of us would like to be indifferent to what is happening. We can't do it. If war comes, it is the youth who fight it. And when peace follows, it is the youth who live it.

"What we young people have to do is to put our minds and our hearts to the problem and decide what kind of a world we want, and how best that world can be realized. But we have to do this soon so that we can be as certain and strong in our minds and hearts as we are in our physical defenses.

"The freedom of choosing our kind of world is ours only so long as England stands. What concerns us is what she stands against. In that, the United States and England are united."

Luigi Antonini, Labor Leader:

"If Hitler is defeated, there will again be a Norway, a Holland, a Belgium, a Denmark, a France, a Czechoslovakia, a Poland, a Romania, a Greece, a Yugoslavia.

"If Hitler is defeated, there will also be an Italy, because Italy is now an occupied country and this occupation will end only with the defeat of Hitler.

"If Hitler is defeated, there will be freedom for the men and women of labor, and there will be freedom for all religions, for all creeds, for all races.

"From the point of view of labor's vital interests, and as a duty to our enslaved brothers of European labor, as well as for American labor's safety, and as an American of Italian descent, I firmly stand as Garibaldi would stand, for all aid to the English people and to all democracies, so that our mortal enemy, Hitler, shall not become our master."

Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Educator:

"Teachers and students want more keenly than anyone else to keep the flood of Nazi domination away from our shores. We have seen what Nazi rule does to universities and schools. We do not want to lose our best teachers and scholars; to have our books burned; to be forced to teach a creed of prejudice and hate. We want to remain free to seek the truth and teach it.

"The British and their allies are holding back this Nazi flood, giving us time to arm. Help them stand firm. Send weapons to them more swiftly and more surely!"

Ward Cheney, Business Man:

"American business men must decide whether it is important to them AS HUMAN BEINGS to live in a form of life tolerable to decent people. Well, who is going to beat him? I used to think the Germans could do it alone. Now obviously only with full help from the British. The job be done at all. May American business men not forget the black lesson of what happened to the German business men who tried to play ball with Hitler."

Dr. William M. Agar, Catholic:

"Catholicism cannot live in a world ruled by Hitler. Witness the Poles, the Austrians, the other Catholics of Europe. Large numbers are dead, many are in concentration camps, others live furtively, fearful of what the next day may bring—because they are Catholics. Their churches are desecrated, their priests insulted, their right to worship denied.

"How long can we escape if Hitler wins? Is it not time to back our President's every action toward uprooting that tyranny? The way may be hard but our duty is clear. We face the task of saving our Country and protecting our Faith."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi:

"If our aid cannot reach England effectively without convoys, then convoys should be used. It is not an easy decision to come to, but it is an inescapable one.

"I join, therefore, in the view expressed by the Inter-Faith Committee for Aid to the Democracies representing leading Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churchmen throughout the land: To use whatever means are adequate to guarantee that the lifeline between Britain and America be kept open, and that the goods now being produced in this country in ever-increasing amounts, actually reach Britain safely."

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Protestant:

"What do sincere Americans want? Enough to hold public office and command public attention? Tell us that England's battle is not our Government in spending billions of dollars?"

"Hitler's Germany is the enemy of all nations and all values. Against Hitlerism and for our very lives and our most precious liberties we are building up a colossal war machine. England is our friend and to help her is to help ourselves. 'All out' aid and aid now to Britain is our best defense. Let us have a maximum of production, and a maximum of delivery by whatever means necessary, and the war need not reach our shores."

Mr.
Mr.
Mr. Gl.
Mr. La.
Mr. Ni.
Mr. Ro.
Mr. Ca.
Mr. Dr.
Mr. Q.
Mr. H.
Mr. T.
Miss

Brooklyn America First Rally Reveals Christian Front Ties



Philip F. LaFollette, former Governor of Wisconsin, may be putting the finger on someone in the above photo but isn't the Christian Front. In his speech, he charged the "War Party" with trying "to save yesterday" by leading the U. S. A. to foreign battlefields, then invited FDR repeat his campaign pledges of no foreign wars. La Follette did not mention that the Rev. Edward L. Curran, oldtime Christian Front advocate, gave the invocation that started the rally off. More than 3000 jammed the Academy of Music last night to hear not only Mr. Curran and Mr. LaFollette but also John T. Flynn, Mrs. Kathleen Norris and Representative James E. Van Zandt of Pennsylvania.

PM Photo by Irving Haben

100-9112-A
CLIPPING FROM
P.M. NEW YORK DAILY
DATE MAY 15 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson.....
 Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
 Mr. Clegg.....
 Mr. Glavin.....
 Mr. Ladd.....
 Mr. Nichols.....
 Mr. Rosen.....
 Mr. Tracy.....
 Mr. Carson.....
 Mr. Egan.....
 Mr. Gurnea.....
 Mr. Hendon.....
 Mr. Jones.....
 Mr. Quinn.....
 Mr. Nease.....
 Mr. Gandy.....

INCREASE ANTI-WAR LETTERS NOW! PLEA OF AMERICA FIRST

An appeal for a greater volume of anti-war letters to President Roosevelt was made yesterday by the Illinois America First committee. With cries growing louder daily for our immediate entry into the war, the committee emphasized that it is vital that peace-minded citizens make themselves heard.

Bulletins calling for "hundreds of thousands" of letters were mailed to 90 Illinois chapters of the peace organization.

"The 17 per cent who want war are highly organized," the bulletin warned America First members. "They can sound just like the 83 per cent opposed to war unless you speak now. Speak now and often while you are still free to do so. The issue now is peace or war."

Contributions and memberships are being accepted at America First headquarters, 122 South Michigan avenue.

[A one man crusade against war mongering is described on page 9.]

100-4712-A

Eur

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E.A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Reilly

The People's Voice

The America First Committee wound up its full-page advertisements on Tuesday, calling upon the public to bow to Hitlerism by opposing convoy, with the somewhat curious statement that it "has no list of wealthy backers." That it has no list—or at any rate no complete list for publication—the Herald Tribune is well aware, having sought to secure one as a matter of public interest; but it scarcely occurred to us that this was a fact to be proud of. As for the wealthy backers, we can only observe that in the partial list with which we were furnished of those who had contributed \$100 or more to its funds, there were the names of many persons whose position in the community is by no means that of paupers.

The implication which America First has consistently sought to spread, in these advertisements and elsewhere, that it is sole spokesman for a vast majority of little men and women as against a mythical "handful of warminded men" in seats of power, would be a great deal more convincing were it not for the committee's marked reticence about all its financial arrangements—a reticence not found among opposing groups in this field. But one hardly requires financial statistics. The vast majority of Americans are literate and vocal persons who do not need self-appointed committees to give them a voice; and they have shown over and over again, by letters, votes, polls and action that they do not share the timid defeatism and self-doubt which America First seeks to put in their mouths.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE MAY 15 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 3 E. 47th St., New York City)

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C. Today's column is provided by the New York Chapter)

Can Hitler Invade America?

Hanson W. Baldwin, Military Expert of the New York Times, says NO!

(The following paragraphs are taken from Mr. Baldwin's latest book, "United We Stand," published by Whitlessey House, New York. Every American, who wants to know the truth about our National Defense problems, should read this important book.)

"From the days of Horatius to the present, the fear of invasion has been used both legitimately and spuriously to arouse the public to the necessity of adequate defense. Most men will fight for their homes, their churches, their own land. The threat of invasion, the threat to security is therefore a definite challenge and one that any country that has not lost its virility is certain to meet. But too often the challenge is spurious; too often men or groups with ulterior purposes cry 'Wolf, wolf!' when there is no wolf; too often it has had to be used to arouse the people to other dangers that are no less real, if far less immediate.

FALSE INVASION THREATS HERE

"It has been so used in this country in the recent past. The author does not know a single responsible military or naval officer or government official who believes that this nation is threatened by direct invasion, even if Germany wins. Consider the difficulties:

"No potentially hostile European or Asiatic power possesses territory or bases in this hemisphere.

"The Atlantic is 3,000 miles across; from 4,000 to 7,000 miles of Pacific waters intervene between the continental United States and Asia.

"Invaders can reach this country only by ship or by plane; armies cannot swim to victory.

"No single power except Britain has a navy equal to our own. No two other powers are building as many combat ships as we are.

"A fleet is much more effective near its own bases. Its combat effectiveness and fighting power decreases the farther it gets from its own bases and the closer it approaches the enemy bases. Its effective combat operating range is generally reckoned at between 1,500 and 3,000 miles. This is not an absolute figure, however, and increases or decreases depending on the cruising radii of the ships, geographical factors, lines of communication, availability of mobile floating drydocks, etc. . . .

LINDBERGH WAS RIGHT

"By air, the problem is even more difficult, and Col. Lindbergh, as all military observers know, was perfectly correct when he said that the United States could not be invaded by air. President Roosevelt, in his famous geography-lesson speech, used air power as the big bad wolf apparently in order to shock the country into the need for defense. But his similes should not have been taken literally; his distance figures were misinterpreted. Air power has not yet shown its ability to hold territory or to consolidate conquests. It is a terrible engine of destruction, but alone it could not be the instrument of victory against America . . .

"Isolated bombing raids, submarine operations off our coast, hit-and-run surface raiders—yes, all these are possible, even probable, if war comes, but that is not invasion, and these things cannot conquer America.

"What of an army transported to these shores?

"It cannot reach here by swimming; it cannot reach here by air; the only carrier with capacity enough to transport the soldiers and the stuff of war is the vulnerable cargo ship. If our defensive forces on sea and in the air were sufficiently alert no army could ever reach these shores."

The Air We Breathe

By ROBERT H. ROSS

Who speaks for the isolationists? Their favorite organ is the Chicago Tribune. Is the publisher of this paper the seventh son of a seventh son? Let's see. At the darkest hour of the Union cause in the Civil War, Joseph Medill of Chicago, grandfather of the present publisher, wrote: "Everybody feels that the war is drawing to a disastrous and disgraceful termination. Money cannot be supplied much longer to a beaten, demoralized and home-sick army." That was early in 1863, but on July 4th, 1863, Grant entered Vicksburg in triumph. Why blame that Mr. Medill's grandson is right about Britain today?

Consider another leading isolationist—Col. Lindbergh. Not long ago the Colonel shook the dust of the United States from his feet, and retired to England. He repaid the courtesy of the English by accepting a medal from the Nazis whom he has always admired extravagantly. Now that he is back, most of us entertain the same grave doubts about Col. Lindbergh's perspective and balance which we had when

Hitler Says He Can Divide Us

he quit these shores.

Hitler boasts that he can divide the United States without landing a soldier. He says we are ripe for revolution. All that is needed is to stir up racial and economic hatreds. If he combed the country, he could find no better pawn than Lindbergh, and the Colonel would not even know he was being used.

The claim of isolationists that we can live happily within our own borders without foreign trade, without the respect of our neighbors, without constant insults and indignities from the dictators, without shrinking into a frightened, apologetic, contemptible third-class nation, is baseless.

Another delusion is that the annihilation of space by airplane, radio and other inventions necessarily draws the scattered peoples of the earth together in a closer communion of interest and sympathy. The fact is that unless aims are similar, closer association may increase animosities just as it does within families.

The isolationists reason thus: Three thousand miles of ocean protect us from invasion. Propaganda can't hurt us. The collapse of Britain would be sad but not fatal. Soft soap will keep the Latin-Americans friendly. Japan is a big bluff. Hitler rides the wave of the future, and there is no struggling against it. We can get along nicely with him if the right people represent us. The right people are the isolationists.

A character in the Bible expressed the pious wish that his enemy would write a book. Hitler has written a book, and no one who reads it can doubt the world-wide aims of his madness. "Mein Kampf" is the very bible of lunacy. In his ravings and belittlings over the radio we can hear the death rattle of civilization.

"Mein Kampf" the Bible of Lunacy

There is no use invoking the memory of such splendid Germans as Luther, Kant, Brahms and Beethoven, because the heroes of the German people today are Hitler, Himmler, Goering and Goebbels. The stock which gave us Lindbergh, Carl Schurz, Wendell Willkie, and millions of others who are the very backbone of our nation, must still survive in Germany, and they must still be underground passages there like the ancient catacombs where the spirit of liberty and worship is kept alive. It would be a pity, however, to underestimate the number of misguided young people who are crowding the older generation out of the picture.

After decades of debate, Lincoln faced the issue on the great question whether a nation half slave and half free can survive. Fifty years later, Woodrow Wilson pointed out with prophetic insight that a world half totalitarian and half democratic could not survive. Never forget that the basic aim of Nazis, Fascists and Communists is world domination!

Are we ready to stamp out the monster which stands between us and the extinction of democracy? Most of us do not take this menace seriously. They grasp it intellectually but they are not as yet willing to make the supreme effort and sacrifice without which victory for democracy is impossible.

Don't Take Menace Seriously Enough

Democracy is handicapped in fighting dictators because its processes are slow, because we depend upon education more than force to get results, and because while we take polls of public opinion, and reason with the opposition, the dictators suppress them and hurry on the implements of war.

Under Hitler no one has to be silenced, because everybody has to work for him. There is no question of law, precedent, tradition, procedure, or discussion. The dictator commands and the slaves obey. Whoever interrupts this process is liquidated.

Hitler promises the same things which we claim are the fruits of democracy, and says that he will produce them quicker and cheaper without our checks and balances, but in the event of a Nazi victory, the advantages promised by Hitler will be poisonous because of the atmosphere in which they will be exercised.

All the comforts, discoveries and gadgets of this mechanical age, all outward, material things and, of course, all things of the spirit, are as ashes if they cannot be enjoyed in an atmosphere of freedom. That is why Hitler has nothing to offer to liberty loving people, why we don't want HIS kind of efficiency even if he can make it work among his own people, and why we cannot allow him to succeed against Britain.

See You at—

**AMERICA FIRST RALLY
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
MAY 23**

**Speakers
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH SENATOR WHEELER**

Do your part to make this the greatest rally in the history of New York. Plan to come—bring your friends.

20,000 SEATS

GENERAL ADMISSION FREE

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

With this issue, The News discontinues America's Battle Page. If circumstances warrant, it may be resumed in the future

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C.)

"The Yanks Are Not Coming"

William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, is one of America's most distinguished editors. He organized the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

On Dec. 23, 1940, Mr. White wrote a letter to Roy W. Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspapers. Here are the most important paragraphs in that letter:

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti, and it's not time to shoot, now or ever.

"Still one more charge: It is not true, even remotely, that we favor repealing that portion of the neutrality law which forbids American ships to carry contraband of war into the war zone. That would be leading us to war and our organization and I personally are deeply opposed to it.

"If I was making a motto for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it would be 'The Yanks are not coming.' We could not equip them, transport them, and feed them if they went. We have less than 200,000 ready, and we need them worse at home on the assembly belt than we need them in Europe.

"War would defeat the first and last end for which our committee is organized to defend America by aiding Britain, and would bring on a 30-year conflict. The 'Yanks are not coming,' because if they went to war they would lose our cause. That is my firm, unshakable belief. . . . (They called Lindbergh a defeatist for saying this.—ED.)

"Moreover, I have sat in all our executive councils, all our policy-making committees, and I have never heard war as an alternative objective seriously discussed by any official group of our organization at any time. America will go to war or stay out of war not because we make Hitler mad, but only when, as and if Hitler thinks he can win the war. And so long as we arm behind the British fleet and England fights while we are, Hitler never will think he can win the war unless he starts war to slow down aid to Britain.

"ANY ORGANIZATION THAT IS FOR WAR IS SERIOUSLY PLAYING HITLER'S GAME."

For saying this, Mr. White was called an "American Laval" by one of the foremost members of the committee. Shortly thereafter, Mr. White resigned as chairman, but became honorary chairman.

We refer his advice to the American people and to the committee he once directed. That committee—the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies—now openly advocates convoys and sending the Yanks to Singapore and Asia.



William Allen White

STOP HITLER OVER THERE

The America First Committee argue from the simplest basis of self-interest. But even here their arguments are wrong.

They believe that this country can choose between peace and conflict.

But Hitler has made it clear to any one who can read or listen that he will not give us this choice. He has made it very clear that he intends to conquer the world, and that the United States and South America are last on the list.

Hitler has already started doing to us what he has done to all of his intended victims before they were aware of it. He undermines his victims and softens them up before he attacks them. Through his Fifth Column in this country and South America he is now trying to undermine us. He had the nerve to boast that taking America would be an inside job.

Our choice is not between peace and conflict; that would be easy. Our choice is between co-operating with the British and their allies to stop Hitler over there, or doing nothing and having to stop Hitler over here all by ourselves. The one practical question Americans should ask themselves is how can we get the most safety for the least risk. The answer is clear.

Over There Or Over Here?

If we stop Hitler over there, Europe and Asia are the battlegrounds. We may be able to get by with sending the Allies a tremendous amount of military equipment and using the American Navy. It will mean some shooting, but we will have allies and the shooting will be a long way off.

But on the other hand, if we let Germany, Italy and Japan take the rest of the world—and now Joe Stalin seems anxious to cut himself in on the deal—we will be up against five-sixths of the world ruled by the gangsters. Just to illustrate how much stronger they would be than ourselves, they would have seven times the shipbuilding facilities that we would have. They would control certain necessary raw materials, could tell us that we can have these raw materials on their terms.

Not so long ago, the German Minister of Agriculture said that when Hitler had established his system of slavery in Europe, the American worker, with his high wages, couldn't compete, and when Hitler had caused forty million unemployed in the United States, Roosevelt would have to beg Hitler for terms.

In order to protect the Western Hemisphere, this country would have to maintain a huge Army with every person undergoing military service; it would have to spend many times more than for military preparation than it is spending now, and the freedom that we know today would be sacrificed in perpetual warfare to protect the Western Hemisphere. The chances are that we couldn't do it.

Why Choose The Hard Way?

The American isolationists, like the isolationists of France and Britain and other countries in Europe that are now defeated, want to do things the hard way. The French thought it would be too much trouble to defend their security in Czecho-Slovakia so they counted on the Maginot Line. And now where is France? The British thought the English Channel would save them, and they were almost too late. But the ostriches in the America First Committee learn nothing and forget nothing, and so they would have us regard the Atlantic Ocean as our Maginot Line.

If Lincoln were alive today he would say to the ostriches in the isolationist camp, "A world cannot exist five-sixths slave and one-sixth free," meaning that the United States could not be an island of freedom in a world of slavery.

We notice that the America First Committee announces its Madison Square Garden meeting. We believe that leaders of the America First Committee are sincere patriots. But unfortunately a man is known by the company he keeps. If you attend their meetings you will find Bundists, Nazis, Communists and every subversive screwball you can think of. When you hear an audience hiss Roosevelt and Churchill, boo Great Britain, and by comparative silence applaud Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, you can be sure you are in the wrong crowd.

LINDBERGH — WHEELER

Speak at the great America First Rally

MAY 23

You can make this the greatest rally in the history of New York. Come and bring your friends. By attending you can make your opposition to war a vital force in this fight for peace. YOU MUST SHOW THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STAND FIRMLY AGAINST ANY FOREIGN WARS. General Admission Free.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

20,000 Seats

We wish to thank the publisher and staff of the Daily News for making this space available to us during this campaign. In giving our neighbor and ourselves the opportunity to express our viewpoints on this vital issue of war without interference or restrictions of any kind, the Daily News has shown once again why it is one of America's truly great and truly free newspapers.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York Chapter.

THIS COUNTRY HAS DECIDED ON ALL-OUT AID TO BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES

We cannot give that aid unless we "deliver the goods to Britain now."

Write or Wire the President, your Senators and your Representatives that you are for CONVOYS!

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

America First Group Demands Vote on War

Demand that Congress grant American citizens the right to vote on the question—"War, or No War?"—was voiced and approved last night at the organization meeting of George Washington Chapter of the America First Committee.

The meeting was held in American Hall, Sixteenth and Valencia streets. The chapter includes residents of the Central Mission district.

S. L. Brogden, director of organizations for America First in Northern California, presented the issue of a war referendum.

"In our democracy," said Brogden, "the government is permanent and the administration is temporary. We must stand by our government at all times, but this does not prevent us advising our administration; in fact, as good citizens we have the right to criticize our administration."

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

MAY 17 1941

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

15,000 MEMBERS JOIN AMERICA FIRST IN A WEEK

More than 15,000 new members joined the Illinois America First committee last week, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, reported yesterday. This brings to 218,000 the total state enrollment of 72 downstate and 21 Chicago chapters.

Committee officials announced several meetings for the week. A. Eustace Haydon, professor of comparative religion at the University of Chicago, will address an anti-war rally at 4 p. m. today in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue. His topic will be "The Real Defense of America."

Tomorrow evening, Dr. Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago physiologist, will speak at a meeting in the Arlington Heights high school sponsored by the Arlington Heights chapter. Other meetings and speakers of the evening: J. Kentner Elliott, attorney, Glen Ellyn chapter, Acacia hall; Charles P. Chapin, businessman, Loyola-Edgewater rally, 6519 Sheridan road; John W. Maselter, student of propaganda, 736 Lake street, Oak Park. Maselter also will speak Tuesday night for the Rogers Park chapter at 1554 Devon avenue. His topic at the meetings will be "Is This Our War?"

Mr. Tolson.....
 Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
 Mr. Clegg.....
 Mr. Glavin.....
 Mr. Ladd.....
 Mr. Nichols.....
 Mr. Rosen.....
 Mr. Tracy.....
 Miss Gandy.....

FOR THE RECORD: William Griffin's orange-covered New York *Enquirer* ran a piece yesterday to the effect that the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society, was out to get John T. Flynn's job as head of the America First Committee's New York chapter. According to the *Enquirer*, the Rev. Mr. Curran's feelings were hurt when Mr. Flynn tried to withdraw an invitation to the priest to deliver the invocation at an American First rally in Brooklyn. The Rev. Mr. Curran, who insisted on going ahead with the invocation, is going to take the matter up personally with Gen. Robert E. Wood in Chicago, said the *Enquirer*.

CLIPPING FROM
 P.M. NEW YORK DAILY
 DATE MAY 19 1941
 FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

America First Head Queried On Dr. Curran

Flynn Committee Asked for Showdown on Pro-Fascist, Anti-Semitic Support

The America First Committee, which earlier this month publicly rejected support from the German-American Bund, was bewildered yesterday as pressure increased from within and without for a showdown on the backing the committee has been receiving from pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic groups.

The problem of what to do about these groups, it was learned yesterday, has bothered officers of the committee for some time, but did not come to a head until last week, when John T. Flynn, chairman of the committee's New York chapter, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Rev. Dr. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society and alleged supporter of Brooklyn's Christian Front, to refrain from speaking at a committee rally at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn last Wednesday night. The Brooklyn priest appeared amid much applause and delivered the invocation despite Mr. Flynn's request.

Since the Wednesday night meeting, which was attended by a large enough group of anti-Semites to make easy pickings for a number of hawkers of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's "Social Justice," Dr. Curran has left New York for a speaking tour in the West. Persons close to him say that he will stop in Chicago long enough to speak to Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the America First Committee, about ousting Mr. Flynn.

Flynn Withholds Answer

Mr. Flynn, confined to his home in Queens yesterday by a cold, refused to comment on the Curran episode. Meanwhile the situation was further aggravated by a letter sent to Mr. Flynn yesterday by the Fight for Freedom Committee, 1270 Sixth Avenue, asking whether the America First Committee, in view of its rejection of German-American Bund support, would also "repudiate the support given you by the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran and those associated with him in the Coughlin movement?" This, too, Mr. Flynn refused to comment on, saying that he would withhold his answer until he has time to study the letter

when he returns to his office today.

Offers associated with the committee here expressed the hope that the query might finally bring a showdown on the anti-Semitic question so that the committee can hold what is expected to be its biggest meeting, at Madison Square Garden this Friday night, without the stigma of suspicion of giving pro-Fascist groups a free ride on its bandwagon.

The Fight for Freedom Committee query to Mr. Flynn, which was addressed to the America First Committee office at 515 Madison Avenue, was signed by two members of the committee, Michael Williams, former editor of the Catholic magazine, "The Commonweal," and Dr. William M. Agar, visiting lecturer in theology at Columbia University.

Their letter, citing the America First Committee's repudiation of Bund, said that many people took that as an indication that "your committee would dissociate itself from all un-American elements."

Cite Dr. Curran's Presence

"It is, therefore, with considerable surprise and disappointment," the letter said, "that we note from the newspapers that the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran was asked to deliver the invocation at the May 14 meeting of the America First Committee held in Brooklyn. It is inconceivable to us that your committee does not know that Rev. Mr. Curran acts as an unofficial 'gauleiter' for the Brooklyn associates of Father Charles E. Coughlin.

The letter stated that Dr. Curran's picture was published on the front cover of "Social Justice" on July 31, 1939; that he made a radio address answering critics of Father Coughlin and that he spoke at several meetings at which known Christian Front

leaders spoke. It concluded, "We think there is no reasonable doubt of the fact that Rev. Edward L. Curran is in sympathy with the anti-Semitic, pro-Fascist activities of the Christian Front and that fact, he has been one of those who have given it an aura of religious respectability."

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE MAY 20 1941

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

America First Unit Leader Arrives to Arrange Rally



EARL C. JEFFREY
... here is the way.

Jeffrey Sees Growth Of Support for His Anti-War Group

Terming war trend developments in Washington as the "greatest betrayal of the American people," tall and engaging Earl C. Jeffrey came to Rochester yesterday to lay the groundwork for organization of a local unit of the America First Committee.

Specifically, Jeffrey is seeking sponsors for a mass meeting here Saturday night which will be addressed by Senator D. Worth Clark of Idaho, successor to the late Senator Borah. Between now and then he hopes to have formed the nucleus of an active group of America First supporters.

National director of state organization for the America First Committee, Jeffrey, a Chicago advertising man, was outspoken in his enthusiasm for the manner in which he said the American public is rallying to the committee's fight. He listed four cardinal principles on which the committee's action is based:

1. Build an impregnable defense for America.
2. Keep out of foreign wars.
3. Give humanitarian aid to all countries—"the people ought to be fed if we can feed them, and if we can do so without becoming involved in war."
4. Give what we can to aid Great Britain, what we can give without impairing our own national defense.

Jeffrey confesses himself to having waged a strong battle between his emotions and his mind before he became actively associated in the America First movement. Of English descent, Jeffrey said he is certain England cannot be beaten by Germany, and added that most of the America First Committee believed the same and favored aid to Britain.

"For a time," he said, "I fought between strong emotional desires and the facts presented by my mind. Like many other people I was all for going out and licking the daylights out of Hitler—and I still want to see him licked—but when I considered the fact that if America enters this war it will simply mean prolonging the war to perhaps a 40-year struggle, I decided to give my full support to the America First Committee."

"The big issue today involves the very cornerstone of democracy—whether a candidate can go into office with definite promises to the people that he will do one thing, and then deliberately do something else. Both Willkie and Roosevelt in their campaigns promised us peace. Now they are deliberately taking us into war, and the actions of the Washington administration today constitute the greatest betrayal of the American people."

"But we are winning the battle. The common man now realizes that we are right and is rallying to us in ever increasing numbers. A long drawn out war can only mean great repercussions in post-war depressions, inflation and piling up of troubles that the people cannot stand."

"The tremendous effect on Washington of the huge amount of support given us at mass meetings throughout the country undoubtedly resulted in the cancellation of President Roosevelt's speech scheduled for May 14. If he had a stomach ache, we gave him that stomach ache. We don't know what he intended to say, but there were substantial rumors that he was either to declare an emergency or announce use of American convoys. Now he is going to speak May 27. You can be assured there will be no announcement of convoys, and he will not declare an emergency, but he will try something foxy. Whatever it is, we expect it will be one more step toward war."

Ranks Open to All

Jeffrey said the ranks of the America First movement were open to all, with four exceptions. It bars Communists, Fascists, Nazis and pacifists.

"If America gets into the war, we'll go out of business and support the government," he said, "for we are for America first. But we want to make sure beforehand that before we act in any direction, that action will be for the best interests of America."

During his overnight stay here, before leaving for Binghamton and Albany where similar mass meetings are being arranged, Jeffrey planned to confer with Dr. George H. Whipple of the University of Rochester School of Medicine, who is a member of the America First Committee, and other leaders.

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Rochester, New York
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 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Lindbergh Denied Philadelphia Hall

Philadelphia, May 20 (AP).—Charles A. Lindbergh, scheduled to speak here May 29 under the sponsorship of the America First Committee, today was denied the use of the Academy of Music.

John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, said he refused to rent the Academy to the committee "because the audiences Lindbergh attracts are Communists and Nazis and enemies of our American form of government."

"The heads of America First Committee are not objectionable," he said; "they're isolationists and idealists, but the mobs that come to hear Lindbergh are lovers of Germany and haters of democracy."

MAY 21 1938

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 Mr. Tracy _____
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Philadelphia Hall Barred to Lindy

PHILADELPHIA, May 20.—If Col. Charles A. Lindbergh makes his scheduled speech against American participation in the war for the America First Committee in Philadelphia May 29 he will not make it in the historic Academy of Music.

John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, said tonight the corporation had refused to rent the hall to the committee for the speech. He added:

"The audiences Lindbergh attracts are Communists, Nazis, and enemies of our American form of government. The heads of America First are isolationists and idealists, but the mobs that come to hear Lindbergh are lovers of Germany and haters of democracy."

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 Mr. Winterrowd.....
 Mr. Tele. Room.....
 Mr. Holloman.....
 Miss Gandy.....

America First Units Launched in Boro

Announcement was made last night by William T. Leonard, executive chairman of the Brooklyn Chapter, America First Committee, that the Bay Ridge unit of the organization would be located at 7905 5th Ave. The Bay Ridge headquarters will be the unit for the 8th Congressional District.

Mr. Leonard also announced that headquarters had been opened at 766 Classon Ave. for the Prospect Heights unit. This headquarters will be the start of similar units in the 5th Congressional District.

Another announcement made from the headquarters of the Brooklyn Chapter at 44 Court St. stated that the Rev. Gideon Olson of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church had accepted the post of chairman of the speakers bureau.

CLIPPING FROM.
BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE.

DATE. **MAY 21 1941**

FORWARDED BY NEW YORK DIVISION

1-1
32

712 Cleveland Press
June 16, 1941

America First Ruling Deferred

Court Waits Information on Internal Dispute

Common Pleas Judge Frank J. Merrick today continued once again the hearing of the America First Committee suit, setting the new date as June 30.

He did this because national headquarters in Chicago had not yet sent any word as to which faction of the local group it recognizes, the John B. Osmin group or the H. Herring-Stoll group. Judge Merrick repeated today that he intends to follow the decision of the national office.

Internal troubles of the local America First Committee came to light when Mr. Osmin filed suit against Mr. Stoll and other former officers of America First, who, he said, were deposed from office and then formed a group of their own, called the America First Committee of Ohio, Inc.

The suit contends the new organization has refused to give up more than \$2,000 it had collected, had declined to give up cards and records and is trading on the name of the original group.

Before the case was continued today the attorney for the Stoll side dropped the contention that the Stoll group was the original one, said they never meant to contend that Mr. Osmin is a former assistant U.S. attorney and Stoll lives at 12061 Garfield Avenue, Lakewood, near Cleveland. Mr. Stoll has organized the United States of America Forever, which he terms a national organization with headquarters at Hotel Carter.

The objective of the group, he says, is to preserve the independent sovereignty of the United States of America.

One of the aims of the society, as pointed out in literature distributed by its group, is to discover and eliminate all subversive activities in America. United Now.

1125 - 35115 - 5

Osmun Wins Tilt in America First

Judge Merrick Rules in Factional Fight

The long, heated battle between the Stoll and Osmun factions of the America First Committee's local chapter came to an end today as Common Pleas Judge Frank J. Merrick ruled for the Osmun group.

His decision came after the national board of America First sent a resolution from Chicago that it had held a special meeting and decided that the Osmun group should be recognized.

The controversy came into court after the faction led by John B. Osmun, former assistant U. S. attorney, seized control of the local chapter, leaving H. Harrington Stoll, 2061 Carthel Avenue, Lakewood, who had been chairman.

Mr. Stoll then went to Columbus and incorporated under a new name, America First Committee of Ohio. Mr. Osmun brought suit charging the Stoll group was trading on the original name and declined to give

up membership lists and other records of the original group and had refused to turn over money it had collected.

Judge Merrick's ruling gave the Osmun group exclusive use of the America First name and the exclusive right to collect money under the name. He also ordered the Stoll group to return the records. It could not be learned whether the Stoll group would continue to function separately.

The Cleveland Press
June 26, 1941

America First Group
Inc. Incorporated
The America First Committee of
Cleveland Incorporated today and
is granted a state charter by John
S. Conner, Secretary of State.
Incorporation No. 222,222
Schneider, 1234 Lake Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio
1234 56789, 1234 56789, Hampton
Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Ed-
ward Drive, Lakewood, Ohio 44115.
Chairman: Richard G. G. G. G.
Lakewood, Ohio 44115. Harrison St.
Carabel Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio 44115.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Foxworth	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
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Mr. Nichols	_____
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Mr. Carson	_____
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Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Lindy Will Talk In Philadelphia Despite Rebuff

PHILADELPHIA, May 21 (UP). —Despite a series of rebuffs, including refusal to use the Academy of Music, the America First Committee went ahead with plans today to have Charles A. Lindbergh talk at a meeting here May 29.

The committee negotiated for the use of the arena, a sporting center, after John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, told the group:

"The real reason for refusing to rent the Academy to you is that we don't care to rent it for such a purpose."

SCORES FOLLOWERS.

"The 'front' of the America First Committee here, as in other cities, consists of sincere American isolationists," Lewis said later. "But the audience such meetings attract is made up largely of lovers of Germany and haters of England—in other words, enemies of our form of government."

The committee also was shunned by an advertising agency, which refused advertising in trolleys and buses.

Likewise, a request to buy radio time was turned down by stations WCAU and KYW.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN

DATE MAY 21 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

R. Kramer

Lindbergh Denied Philadelphia Hall

Philadelphia, May 20 (AP).—Charles A. Lindbergh, scheduled to speak here May 29 under the sponsorship of the America First Committee, today was denied the use of the Academy of Music.

John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, said he refused to rent the Academy to the committee "because the audiences Lindbergh attracts are Communists and Nazis and enemies of our American form of government."

"The heads of America First Committee are not objectionable," he said; "they're isolationists and idealists, but the mobs that come to hear Lindbergh are lovers of Germany and haters of democracy."

WASHINGTON POST

MAY 21 1941

100-11712-8

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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
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Mr. Nichols	
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Mr. Quinn	
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Miss Gandy	

SEE DISBANDING OF AMERICA FIRST IN CASE OF WAR

If America becomes engaged in a "shooting war," disbandment of the America First Committee, it is understood here, will be proposed by its chairman, Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired—whether or not a declaration of war is involved.

Concern of Gen. Wood and other officers of the committee over the course ahead is reported in the current Newsweek in the "Periscope" department.

"America First Committee leaders are worried over the problem of just what constitutes war," the magazine says. "Gen. Wood and most other heads of the organization, while still hoping to help keep the country out of war, have long planned to enlist 100 per cent in the war effort whenever America becomes a belligerent. They plan to disband the organization and take steps that leave no doubt as to its leaders' essential patriotism. The trouble is that they can't decide just when this move should be made, fearing that the United States will just ease into war by successive steps—more patrols, 'state of emergency,' escorts, limited naval co-operation, etc."

It is understood that the magazine's summary represents the quandary in which leaders of the committee have found themselves.

113-1112-A

327

**IOWA UNITS JOIN
AMERICA FIRST
NO WAR APPEAL**

Thousands of members of America First units in Iowa have promised full cooperation in the "Plea to the President" hour, from noon to 1 p. m. tomorrow, according to a statement yesterday from America First headquarters.

Units in Clinton, Dubuque, Des Moines, and Sioux City, officials said, wired Chicago leaders of their plans for sending a torrent of letters and wires to the President during that period, urging that he keep this country out of war.

The Kiwanis club of Lake Forest will hear John W. Maseller, propaganda technique student, at 6:30 p. m. today at the Deerpath Inn, 255 East Illinois street, Lake Forest. His subject will be "Is This Our War?"

100-1111-A

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

3

5-22-4

Want Tickets to America First Rally? See German-American Bund or Joe McWilliams

By HELEN CANAVARRO

The America First Committee has announced that tickets for its rally against war, featuring Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, tomorrow night at Madison Square Garden, may be obtained at its headquarters, 515 Madison Ave. and 44 Court St., Brooklyn. Reserved seats are \$1, boxes \$2 and balcony seats are free.

The Madison Square Garden box office will sell \$1 and \$2 seats tomorrow, if there are any left, and will also give out free tickets.

However, there are two other places where you can get tickets for the rally—for nothing:

¶ The German-American Bund, 178 E. 85th St.

¶ The American Destiny Party, 1591 2nd Ave.

I know. Yesterday, I got eight free tickets from the Bund office and six from the Destiny party. All with smiles.

The Brooklyn Tablet

My first try, the Brooklyn Tablet, 1 Hanson Pl., Brooklyn, was unsuccessful but the information clerk there was helpful enough to direct me to the Brooklyn office of the America First Committee.

The International Catholic Truth Society, 407 Bergen St., Brooklyn, also had none. But clerks there spent a good ten minutes telephoning around to see if they could get some.

At the New York State Economic Society, 505 Fifth Ave., my request for tickets met with raised eyebrows and a quick disclaimer of any connection with America First.

But that was the last of my disappointments. The next two places had plenty of tickets.

At 178 E. 85th St. is a grimy, unprepossessing building which is headquarters of the German-American Bund, the German-American Business League Inc. and the newspaper *The Free American* and *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*.

The directory in the dark entrance hall said one flight up for all three. The arrow pointing to the elevator didn't look as if it meant business, so I walked up the wide noisy stairs. A door indicated that the three German-American groups share the same office.

'Guten Morgen?'

Two attractive maedchen were busy at their desks when I walked into the badly lit office.

I said "Hello," and one girl said "Guten morgen."

"Have you any tickets for the Lindbergh talk Friday night?"

"Wie viel wollen Sie?" she asked.

I said I wanted quite a lot. She fished around in her desk, produced two, looked upset and called to someone in the back room.

Quickly, out came a smiling stout bald German in his shirt sleeves, with a cheerful greeting and a stack of tickets.

He also insisted on asking in German how many I wanted and when I said "Six, if you

early." And he bowed me out with still more smiles.

Down a few blocks, at 1591 Second Ave. is the office of Joe McWilliams and the home of the American Destiny Party.

Over the street entrance door it says simply Club Haus. This is also the entrance to a bar and restaurant the menu for which features *weiner schnitzel*.

Up a wide flight of dark stairs again and I was right at the American Destiny Party. No activity here, either. Just an empty meeting room, in back, an uncarpeted, unshaded front office room filled with nondescript office furniture. A lone secretary, the large, housewifely type, sat at a tiny switchboard.

"I was told I might get some tickets for the America First Friday night rally here."

"Why certainly," she said. "How many?" She had no accent.

"I think six." And it was a deal.

She took the six tickets from a stack of 75 or more, put them in a neat bare envelope and advised me to get there early. I could also have more later, if I wanted.

CLIPPING FROM

P.M. NEW YORK DAILY

DATE MAY 22 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

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Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Gandy	

R. M. Kramer

America First Group in Cambridge Meeting

The Cambridge America first committee will hold the first of its organization meetings tomorrow, Friday evening, in Elks' Hall, 8 Magazine street, Central square, the organizing committee announced last night. The committee which has established headquarters at 580 Massachusetts avenue, in Central square, is to have for its first speaker tonight, William Gallagher. The meeting begins at 8 o'clock.

11-5-7-2

Boston Post

May 23, 1941.

11/1

America First Garden Rally To Be Guarded

More than 500 police were assigned to guard the scheduled rally of the America First Committee at Madison Square Garden tonight as anti-Nazi groups threatened to picket the meeting.

Efforts to picket the Manhattan Center the night of April 23, when the America First Committee held its first big New York mass meeting, were broken up.

This time the Social Democratic Youth organization has announced that more than 250 draft-age youths will conduct mass picketing outside the Garden.

REFUSED PERMIT.

F. H. Peter Cusick, executive secretary of Fight for Freedom,



C. A. LINDBERGH
Speaks at Rally Tonight

said the police had refused permission to place a picket line across the street from the Garden.

Following this Uric Bell, for the Fight for Freedom, telegraphed Mayor LaGuardia in Washington, asking that this order be reversed.

Speakers at the rally will include Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Kathleen Norris, novelist.

A nationwide radio hookup, said to be the largest on record in the present debate on whether America shall enter the war, has been arranged.

TO BROADCAST TALKS.

Locally, Lindbergh's speech will be broadcast from 9:30 to 10 p. m. over Station WOR. Senator Wheeler's speech will be broadcast by Radio Stations WEAF and WABC from 10:30 to 11 p. m.

John T. Moore, a man of the New York State of the America First Committee, said that the

American First Committee headquarters today, have been sold.

The garden has a capacity of 28,000. Indications were that this would be entirely filled, and that there would be an overflow crowd. Police said they were preparing to handle an outside crowd of at least 10,000.

Platforms have been erected on 49th st., outside the Garden, and both Lindbergh and Sen. Wheeler are expected to appear there to make brief speeches.

LOUDSPEAKERS SET UP.

Loud speakers also will broadcast the speeches inside the garden to the crowds outside.

The America First Committee has announced a long list of sponsors of the rally. Among them are Mrs. Archibald Roosevelt, Mrs. Philip J. Roosevelt, Sinclair Lewis, Mrs. Bruce Barton, Mr. and



SEN. B. K. WHEELER
Also Speaks Tonight

Mrs. Charles Shipman Payson, Mr. and Mrs. Courtlandt D. Barnes, Jr., Senator D. Worth Clarke, the Most Rev. Bishop Shaughnessy, of Seattle, Lillian Gish and Senator Guy Gillette.

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Gandy	.....

FROM THE
EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN
MAY 23 1941
ED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Fawcett _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Dwyer _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Miss Gandy _____

The Wrong Way

However vigorously we disagree with the views of Charles A. Lindbergh and the America First Committee, there is a distinctly unhealthy twist to developments in Philadelphia in connection with Mr. Lindbergh's scheduled speech there on May 29. He has been denied the use of the historic Academy of Music, chiefly on the ground that his followers are haters of democracy. Moreover, the committee's bid for paid trolley and bus displays has been turned down because the subject is "too controversial." And two local radio stations claim to have found a provision in the broadcasters' code which obliges them to refuse advertising time.

All of this, we submit, is entirely satisfactory to cynical Nazi propagandists. They will exploit it as proof that this country's vaunted freedom of speech is just another shibboleth to be discarded at will. Time and again, when evidence of suppression over here has cropped up in the news, the Nazis have made the most of it. They lampooned the controversy over Marian Anderson's right to sing in Constitution Hall. They caricatured the smear tactics used in the last Presidential campaign. And they have consistently sneered at the wrangling over Mr. Lindbergh's views, and at sporadic efforts to silence him, as proof of democracy's incipient breakdown.

No, the antidote for the ostrich-like isolation which the America First people advocate is definitely not censorship. Let them have their say—if there are those who will listen. Not to permit it comes under the heading of flattering the enemy by imitation.

MAY 23 1937

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Foxworth _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Drayton _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Miss Gandy _____

500 Police to Guard Lindbergh N. Y. Rally

NEW YORK, May 22 (N. Y. News).—Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Democrat, will speak tomorrow night in Madison Square Garden at a rally, sponsored by the New York chapter of the America First Committee, which is expected to draw a packed house of more than 20,000 persons and an overflow crowd in adjacent streets. More than 500 police and a large detail of detectives will patrol the Garden.

MAY 23 1941

CITIZENS SEND MASS APPEAL AGAINST WAR TODAY TO PRESIDENT

An appeal to Americans who still value their liberty to participate in the Plea to the President hour from noon to 1 p. m. today was made last night by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the America First committee.

More than 250,000 members of 125 units in Illinois and Iowa have promised to send to Washington during that hour wires and letters protesting against any involvement in the war and against any steps which might lead the United States into the conflict.

"We urge all Americans who still value their liberty," said Mrs. Fairbank, "to join us in setting aside this one hour to write or wire President Roosevelt protesting our entry into another foreign war and also to tactics which might involve us in war. If you oppose our entry into the fight take part in this campaign to let the President know how the majority of the people feel. Help us to keep out of the war."

[Coupon to be mailed in connection with the Plea to the President hour appears on page 17.]

GRAFTON TRACES ISOLATIONISM TO HATRED FOR F. D. R.

Finds America First Here
Rallying Point for
New Deal Foes.

BY SAMUEL GRAFTON.
(New York Evening Post Correspondent.)
(This, the second of Mr. Grafton's articles written from Chicago, is printed by permission of the New York Evening Post.)
Chicago, May 23.—Young R. Douglas Stuart, 25-year-old organizer and executive head of America First, is intensely proud that so many "practical" men are in his organization, manufacturers, engineers, people who "get things done."

I had wondered, while waiting in the anteroom of America First's unpretentious offices in the Board of Trade Building, just how clear in its own mind this organization of practical men could be. For on the anteroom table lies a pamphlet by Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, in which it is said that England cannot lose and therefore conveys are unnecessary. Beside this lies a pamphlet by Mr. Charles A. Lindbergh, in which it is said that England cannot win and therefore conveys are useless.

Young Stuart, utterly sincere, speaks glowingly of the need for improving our democracy at home. He wants a better break, economically, for the American people. "We want to preserve and extend our ideals here. We would lose them in a war." He takes Gen. Wood's line, that we must stay out and give our people an improved version of New Deal reforms.

Dearest New Deal Reforms. . . . Yet the practical men, whom he admires, almost universally detest those reforms; they have flocked to isolation as one of the ways to stop the relentless march of change.

Take the hard core of the most resolute Roosevelt haters in Chicago, take the Chicago Tribune circle of influence, take Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, once a prominent Democrat, who campaigned for Landon in 1936, "animated," she says, "by a desire to defeat Roosevelt," take Gey Thomas S. Hammond, an eloquent anti-Rooseveltian, and you have the hard core of articulate Chicago isolation.

Stuart, in his national America First office, talks of reform; Gen. Hammond, for the local America First office, of which he is chairman, speaks of his detestation of recent reforms. This is Chicago isolation, confused, tormented, determined not to save an England which is bound to lose and bound to win, as the only means of both promoting and stopping reform at home.

Don't get me wrong. I went to see Gen. Hammond at his plant in suburban Harvey. It was one of the latest and most illuminating experiences in my life.

Impatient with the World.
Here, in his small office at the Whiting Corporation, sits something like the traditional old-time American steelmaster, tough, hard, almost frighteningly able, a man who makes machines that cut through two-inch-thick slabs of steel like cheese, a man whose mind resents the foreign tangle and would like to cut through that, too, in the same buzz-saw style. I am afraid Gen. Hammond is rather impatient with the world.

He looks like a general. He was once a great Michigan football man; he looks like that, too. He does not seem to like to sit at his desk in his second-floor office amid his cluster of worksheds. We walked through the plant, talking. He does not

(Continued on page 18, column 1.)

GRAFTON TRACES ISOLATIONISM TO HATRED FOR F. D. R.

(Continued from First Page.)

merely stand off and point to a machine tool; he almost nuzzles it, getting close to the cooling spray and the jumping metal chips. "Look at those chips!" he says. "Look at them fly off." To the machine attendant: "Is this hard work?"

"No, sir. All automatic. Only work is putting the bar steel in to be cut."

Boasts of Accident Record.

"See!" The general's arm swings about, pointing to the high roof, the huge windows. "Nice place to work, isn't it? If we didn't have this war nonsense, we could build more units like this, give people a decent place to work. That's what they want." He points to a sign which boasts that the plant has now passed more than 800 days without a lost-time accident. "That's movable. See?"

"General, don't you think that, in spite of isolation, we've got to do something about Martinique, Dakar—"

"Appoint a nonpartisan board of military experts. See? Let them study it like a problem. If they say we have to do something, why do it. If not, not. Let's stop shooting off our mouths and talking about grabbing stuff, just like Hitler."

"Should the President appoint the board?"

"No, Congress. Get it out of politics. If the board says we need Martinique, buy the blank, blank place."

"And about help to England—"

"Sure, if we can spare it, give it to them. I'd feel better about them if they'd paid their debts. Let the same board say what we ought to do about England. I want to see her win, but not any hurt to us."

His mind tackles the problem. "If we are preparing to fight Germany, then aid to England makes sense. If we want peace, then it's the bunk. Tell you what we need."

Urges a Selling Campaign.

His mind rips into the thing again: "We ought to put on a good selling campaign about this country as the best place to live in in the whole world. Let's get some propaganda up about individual initiative and private ownership of property. That's what made us a nation of go-getters. We can compete with anybody in trade. We're not ready for war. If we cut out the war nonsense, we can put our money into machines for peaceful production, cut costs, give everybody jobs without this blank, blank leaf-raking. We could subsidize our whole foreign trade cheaper than war."

Thus the Whiting Corporation, at the height of our crisis, stands like a fortress of steel, fighting off the changing, eroding tides of time. Chicago business is younger than business in the East. It has a certain elemental Carl Sandburgian something about it. It does not believe that the world has changed. It does not believe we can't return to the normal way of life. Its isolation flows from its determination that there shall be no change.

It is utterly sincere. It can contemplate no future unlike the past. Something has changed in the world, but the roaring plants outside the city just don't believe it. They sense touch of Roosevelt in everything that ails the world. But these plants are not all of Chicago, by any means, and later I shall show how the city breaks into clusters and groups on the issue.

Mr. Grafton
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tamm
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AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, *The News* today resumes publication of America's Battle Page, presenting opposite views on the role this nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 17 when the space was required for maps illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the need for such maps from time to time, the Battle Page

hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. *The News* expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by *The News*. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 5 East 47th St., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

You Can Prove The U. S. Wants Peace

As this Battle Page re-opens its columns, the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE can bring glad tidings to the people.

At last the great sovereign voice of the people in a democracy has been heard. For over a year a small minority—from 15 to 20 per cent. of our population—has been pushing us hot-headedly into war. They have not said they were pushing us to war. They have said they were trying to save us from war. They were telling us they wished to aid Britain, but without war. But now there are no more steps to take without war, and so they cannot deceive us longer. Now they clamor for war. AND SUDDENLY THE PEOPLE HAVE SEEN THE AWFUL TRUTH WHICH HAD BEEN HIDDEN FROM THEM BEFORE.

The stage was all set last week by the war-makers to put us over the precipice. But all over the land something happened. The farmer out on his Western farm got out his stub of a pencil and wrote to the White House: "You promised to keep my boy out of war. I am looking to you to keep that promise." On postcards, on scraps of paper, on the letterheads of great business houses, on perfumed stationery, the letters poured in on the White House and the Senators and Congressmen from every corner of the land.

This is still a democracy, and the voice of the people was raised against war—raised so loud and so strong that the march to war was halted . . . halted at least for the moment.

Now tonight—Friday night—AMERICA FIRST calls on all citizens of New York to assemble in Madison Square Garden to register one mighty protest here in this very heart of the war movement—a protest that no servant of the people dare misunderstand. Come in such numbers that Washington will know where New York stands.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, the great leader of the fight against war in the Senate, and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, whose brave telling of the truth has aroused the people, come to us after a swing around the country. They have given themselves without stint. Now you can do your part tonight. Go to Madison Square Garden.

Remember, it is not just a case of going to hear great and historic speeches. This is your chance to do your bit by making this meeting a great and impressive demonstration against war and for your country.

TONIGHT

Attend the Great AMERICA FIRST Rally

AGAINST WAR

Come early and make this the greatest meeting in the history of New York

Speakers:

Burton K. Wheeler Charles A. Lindbergh
Kathleen Norris Norman Thomas

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

20,000 SEATS

GENERAL ADMISSION FREE DOORS OPEN 7 P. M.
Come and bring your friends.

National Death

The Saturday Evening Post has been one of the chief isolationist journals of this country. This week it abandoned its opposition to our national policy of all-out aid to the Allies to stop Hitler over there.

The Post still believes that we should not have adopted this policy. With that we disagree. But, as the Post realizes, that is water under the bridge. Now that this policy has been adopted, and we are at work carrying it out, it is too late to turn back.

The peril now, says the Post, is not in making the wrong choice. The peril "is there whatever we choose to do. We cannot now escape."

After saying that there is peril in going on, the Post declares that the peril in going back "is no less, maybe even greater."

To go back, says the Post, "is to face the possibility of national death." And still there are those who are trying to make us believe that we have a simple choice between peace and war! They are trying to make us believe that to stop our aid to the Allies, to turn back, would be to choose peace.

Those who would have us believe this have been friends of the Saturday Evening Post. It has been on their side; their spokesman. Now, it faces the truth and tells them that we have no such choice. It tells them that to turn back is to face the possibility of national death.

Will they continue to try to throw dust in our eyes, and their own, by harping on what are no longer issues?

What the President said six months ago is not an issue now.

What Wendell Willkie said in the campaign last Fall is not an issue now.

Nor are the horrors of war and the benefits of peace at issue now. There can be no sane issue where we have no choice.

Here is the issue now, as pointed out by the Saturday Evening Post: Shall we take the risks involved in going forward the way we, as a nation, have chosen, or shall we turn back to the possibility of national death?

The Saturday Evening Post has been wise, patriotic and courageous in setting the issue for itself. It will not face the possibility of national death. It will accept the risks involved in going ahead.

How about you?

Those Who Cheer

If you go to the mass meeting at Madison Square Garden tonight, you will mingle with Nazis, Fascists and Communists. You will mingle with persons of all shades of opinion subversive to the United States and the democratic way of life.

We say this because these Communists, Fascists and Nazis have been numerous and prominent at other mass meetings held by the America First Committee.

We have advance notice that one group of more than 200 persons will be at the mass meeting tonight. It came in a letter from a man who may not be a German, in spite of his German name. He says, "We intend to be there, over 200 of us, and I dare you or any one else to smear us. What a surprise you would get."

We believe the leaders of the America First Committee when they say that they want no financial support from subversive elements. We believe that the America First leaders would prefer that persons of un-American ideals stayed away from America First rallies. But that is not the point.

The point is that un-American organizations have made appeals for contributions of money to America First. Un-American elements crowd America First rallies. They applaud America First speakers. They boo the President of the United States. They do not boo Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin.

At the rally in Mecca Temple, they cheered when a speaker said that the last free democracy in Europe will be defeated by Hitler.

Remember, these persons are not in sympathy with our American way of life.

Some of them belong to the Nazi Bund, which is pro-Hitler. They believe with Herr Hitler that the Nazi-Fascist world must break asunder the whole democratic world.

Some of them belong to the Communist Party. They supported Stalin when he made war on little Finland. But they boo mention of the United States defending itself by sending aid to Britain.

If these Nazis and Communists came to mass meetings of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and cheered what our speakers said, we would be sure there was something wrong—with us. What Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and their friends in this country applaud cannot be good for America.

Bundists and Communists do not cheer serving America first.

**TODAY TELL THE PRESIDENT, YOUR SENATORS
AND REPRESENTATIVES THAT YOU ARE IN
FAVOR OF CONVOYS, TO HELP STOP HITLER OVER THERE.**

LEADER ASKED BY LINDBERGH

*Wheeler Urges Peace
Appeal by President*

[Boston Herald-N. Y. Times Dispatch]

NEW YORK, May 23—Charles A. Lindbergh, making his second anti-war address in New York under the auspices of the America First Committee, joined with Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana tonight in attacking President Roosevelt's foreign policy and in demanding leadership at Washington to keep this country out of war and to return to isolationism.

Wheeler appealed to the President to issue an appeal for peace to the peoples of Germany, Italy and England, and to demand that the "war makers," among whom he classed Henry L. Stimson, secretary of war; Frank Knox, secretary of the navy; former Ambassador William C. Bullitt and Col. William J. Donovan with "the Hitlers in Germany and the Churchills in England," step down and out. He urged a "just" peace, not in the interests of either British Tories and imperialists or of power or land-hungry dictators.

RECALLS PROMISE

The senator denounced "one-man government" and warned that the American people might lose faith in their government if the President "repudiates" his election pledges not to take the country into a foreign war.

Lindbergh also warned of the danger to our system of government from the same source, asking both Democratic and Republican leaders to take notice, and followed this with an appeal to his hearers to support him and his associates in the America First Committee in creating new leadership.

Both speakers asserted that Amer-

(Continued on Page Twenty)

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*Boston Herald
May 24, 1941*

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Leader Asked By Lindbergh

(Continued from First Page) -

ica has nothing to fear from foreign invasion, providing it has the right leadership, and both asserted there was a growing development of public opinion throughout the country against the President's position on the war issue.

The Fight for Freedom Committee, the Friends of Democracy, and several other organizations were notified by police before the meeting that picketing would not be allowed. About 500 policemen were on duty.

Deputy Chief Police Inspector Louis F. Costuma estimated the audience inside at 20,000 persons. A crowd of 2000 persons was outside the building.

Five youth organizations, the League of Youth for Democracy, the Federated Council for Americanism, the Social Democratic Youth, Democracy's volunteers and the Student Defenders of Democracy, issued a statement declaring that "the right to picket is a constitutional one and to be arbitrarily denied this right is an infringement upon our civil liberties."

LACK LEADERSHIP

Lindbergh said Americans "should have no reason to fear."

"We lack only a leadership that places America first—a leadership that does for 130,000,000 people what Washington did for us when we were only 3,000,000—a leadership that tells us what it means and means what it says. Give us that, and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that and we will be so united that no one will dare attack us."

Without mentioning the President by name, Lindbergh continued to allude to him in warning of the loss of democracy at home under the guise of protecting it abroad.

"We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe," he continued, "but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent."

"But have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves."

"We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering."

If the United States enters the war, Lindbergh continued, our losses are "likely to run into the millions" and "victory itself is doubtful." He asked interventionists to "stop and consider whether democracy, tolerance and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle," adding, "or may we not find conditions as bad or worse after the war than they are in the dictator-

He said he opposed the war before it started because he knew England and France were "not in a position to win," and he "did not want them to lose," and that he now opposes American intervention because he thinks the American way of life cannot survive our participation.

Reporting on his recent Western trip, Lindbergh said he had found strength growing everywhere for the American First movement. Saying a cry is rising against war from every section of the country, he ended by urging his audience to join with the America First Committee to enable it to "create the leadership necessary" to spread American ideals abroad and defend the Western hemisphere from invasion without entering the war.

CAN DEFEND SELVES

Wheeler paid tribute to Lindbergh for braving the "warmongers' scorn and abuse," and urged support for him not only to "save your sons from the bloody battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa," but also "to fight against one-man government, and denounced Nazism, Fascism, Communism, British imperialism, American Tories "and all war-makers."

Joining with Lindbergh in reporting the country, both east and west, on the basis of a 7600-mile trip in 20 states, as overwhelmingly against war, he called "pro-English next to being pro-American," but said England was selfishly trying to get us into the war to fight for her interests, and insisted that we could defend ourselves without the aid of England, or the English fleet.

Wheeler ridiculed all theories that Hitler could invade this hemisphere, even if he took over the British fleet, or that he could subdue the United States by economic invasion.

"I am not afraid," he continued, "of any of these imaginary threats,

conjured up by those who want to take us into a jolly war. I am afraid that if President Roosevelt repudiates his election pledges to the American people—not to take us into a foreign war—that the American people will lose faith not only in the President but in their government."

The Senator expressed fears of the President waging an undeclared war, of the end of constitutional democracy, of inflation or debt repudiation, of trouble from wounded soldiers returning from the war, of post-war economic breakdown and of resultant dictatorship.

URGES PEACE APPEAL

Attacking "jingoistic journalists and saber rattling bankers in New York" for trying to push the President into war, he said the American people as a whole, and the people of the entire world also, look to Mr. Roosevelt for leadership for peace.

"The President of the United States," he continued, "could appeal to the world for peace—he could appeal not to Hitler or to Mussolini or Churchill but to the people of Germany, Italy and England. He could demand that the war-makers, the Hitlers of Germany, the Churchills in England and the Knoxes and Stimsones step down and out. I believe he could dictate the peace of the world if he would. But first he must rid himself of those war makers that surround him—who refuse to understand the wishes of the people."

In closing, he said:

"Tonight most of the world is engaged in bloody battle. I ask in behalf of millions that the President of the United States, at the risk of being called an appeaser, appeal to all the people of the world to stop war—now—before it is too late."

PLEAS AGAINST WAR CHEERED AT GARDEN

Continued From Page One

anti-Nazi pickets and supporters of the America First Committee, that organization held its widely advertised "anti-war rally" in the Garden.

Crowds Arrive Early

The doors were opened at 5 o'clock and within an hour crowds had begun to stream into the auditorium in rapidly increasing numbers. By 7:30 most of the seats were filled. Men and women ushers passed out small American flags to each person, and the auditorium itself was hung with flags and red, white and blue bunting. At 7:35 the audience opened a musical program with the singing of "America."

One of the early arrivals was Joseph McWilliams, self-styled foe of the Christian Mobilizers, whose appearance caused a mild flurry. Two ushers wearing the official arm band of the committee jumped from the platform and asked a patrolman to request McWilliams to leave, but the patrolman told them they would have to see a higher police officer. Then the matter was dropped.

McWilliams Again in Spotlight

Another episode over McWilliams occurred after the meeting started, when John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee and chairman of the meeting, shouted that he had been told McWilliams was present, but that the committee was in no way responsible for his presence.

"What he is doing here, how he got in, or whose stooge he is I do not know," said Mr. Flynn, "but I do know that the photographers for the war-making newspapers always know where to find him."

Amid loud boos, hisses and cries of "throw him out," while detectives of the alien squad lined up alongside McWilliams' able seat in the seventh row center, a heckler stood up near by and began shouting back at Mr. Flynn. While McWilliams, who stayed in his seat and said nothing, remained, the heckler was ejected by the police. He declined to tell reporters his name.

The arrival of a delegation of about fifty persons carrying a large sign bearing the words "Copperheads of Westchester" was applauded.

A line of policemen surrounded the platform, and others stood against the wall around the hall, facing the audience.

Soon after 8 o'clock, the time

scheduled for the rally to begin, the Garden had almost reached the Garden's 22,000 capacity for such events.

During the musical program before the rally itself, Robert Crawford, song-leader, asked the audience if it wanted to sing "God Bless America." He was drowned out by a chorus of "No!" and said "Let's drop it." A spokesman for anti-war groups said it was regarded as an interventionist song.

Lindbergh, Wheeler Cheered

Mr. Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler received an enthusiastic reception from a standing, cheering, flag-waving crowd when they made their entrance on the platform at 8:30 P. M. with Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Kathleen Norris, novelist, the other speakers. The ovation continued for five minutes. When it stopped the crowd in the north balcony started a chant, "We want Lindbergh," repeated over and over, during which Mr. Lindbergh rose and bowed. Then it began, "We want Wheeler," and continued until the Senator rose and waved.

Mrs. John P. Marquand, wife of the Boston novelist, opened the rally at 8:40 o'clock by calling on the audience to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" and then to recite "The People's Pledge to the Flag," which was done all standing with arms outstretched.

After saying the America First Committee repudiated any support the German-American Bund, the Communist or Fascist parties or their sympathizers might give "for the furthering of their ulterior political motives," Mrs. Marquand asserted the social philosophies of such organizations "are un-American and completely foreign to the spirit of religious and intellectual tolerance for which the America First Committee stands."

Mr. Lindbergh said Americans "should have no reason to fear."

"We lack only a leadership that places America first—a leadership that tells us what it means and means what it says. Give us that, and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that and we will be so united that no one will dare attack us."

Without mentioning the President by name, Mr. Lindbergh continued to allude to him in warning of the loss of democracy at home under the guise of protecting it abroad.

Warnings of Intolerance Here

"We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe," he continued, "but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have

been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves. We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last Fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering."

If the United States enters the war, Mr. Lindbergh continued, our losses are "likely to run into the millions" and "victory itself is doubtful." He asked interventionists to "stop and consider whether democracy, tolerance and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle," adding, "or may we not find conditions as bad or worse after a war than they are in the dictatorships of Europe today?"

Reporting on his recent Western trip, Mr. Lindbergh said he had found strength growing everywhere for the America First movement. Saying a cry is rising against war from every section of the country, he ended by urging his audience to join with the America First Committee to enable it to "spread the leadership necessary" to "spread American ideals abroad and defend the Western Hemisphere from invasion without entering the war."

Mr. Lindbergh received a four-minute ovation at the end of his speech. There was a shower of torn paper from the north balcony. With his wife sitting behind him on the platform, he rose several times and waved to the crowd.

Senator Wheeler paid tribute to Mr. Lindbergh for braving the "warmongers' scorn and abuse," and urged support for him not only to "save your sons from the bloody battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa," but also "to fight against one-man government in the United States."

The American people, he continued, resent the efforts of Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador, and "the royal refugees" to get us into the war "to save the British Empire."

Senator Wheeler also ridiculed all theories that Hitler could invade this hemisphere, even if he took over the British fleet, and he could subdue the United States by economic invasion.

Undeclared War Feared

The Senator expressed fears of the President waging an undeclared war, of the end of constitutional democracy, of inflation or debt repudiation, of trouble from wounded soldiers returning from the war, of post-war economic breakdown and of resultant dictatorship.

Attacking jingoistic journalists and saber rattling bankers in New York for trying to push the President into war, he said the American people as a whole, and the peo-

ple of the entire world also, look to Mr. Roosevelt for leadership for peace.

Mr. Lindbergh made few changes in his manuscript, but Senator Wheeler frequently departed from his, both interpolating and omitting sections. He modified his prepared speech by saying he was "sympathetic to the English" instead of "pro-English" next to being pro-American. He added the statement that Hitler would need at least 2,000,000 men to make "any kind of an invasion" of this country.

In his manuscript he left out the people of Japan, whom he included in those to whom he said President Roosevelt should appeal for peace over the heads of their leaders. He told the audience the British Empire was "tottering"—an adjective he did not write in his advance copy. Also he added the statement at the end of his speech that the American people want no convoys, want no substitute for convoys and want no war.

Mr. Thomas appealed "from the Roosevelt of today to the Roosevelt of yesterday" on the issue of war or peace, which he said was the only issue today. He doubted whether the Administration knew what it was doing in leading us to war, and sometimes thought it was making a great gamble and hoped to escape war.

The Socialist leader urged immediate efforts to bring about peace, saying that even if it failed it might drive a wedge between the dictators and their peoples. It might be successful now or if not eventually, he added.

Mr. Thomas led the audience in an ironical recitation of President Roosevelt's election pledge that American boys were not going to be sent into any foreign wars, the audience repeating each line after he said it.

Mrs. Norris spoke after Mrs. Ida O'Brien was introduced as New York State chairman of the Gold Star Mothers by Mr. Flynn, who said the meeting wanted to make sure there should be no more Gold Star Mothers here.

According to Mrs. Norris the American people have not been told what we should fight for in Europe, but have been "propagandized," but the America First Committee refuses to be frightened by Hitler or any one else.

"We know," she added, "that only our Navy will ever defend us and that's the American Navy."

The voices of our dead soldiers in the last war, she added, call to us: "Never again, never again, never again!"

Speakers Lauded by Flynn

Mr. Flynn said that the speakers were all Americans in contrast to the Madison Square Garden meeting of the Committee to Defend

America by Aiding the Allies two weeks ago, at which representatives of European nations conquered by the Nazis spoke.

Mr. Flynn said efforts have been made to "smear" and "discredit" the America First Committee by calling its members and supporters Nazis and fellow-travelers. Referring to Cardinal O'Connell of the Roman Catholic Church in Boston, whose "prayer and blessing" for the rally Mr. Flynn had just read, he asserted ironically that the Cardinal was a Nazi "because some misguided fool somewhere in Manhattan, with Nazi sympathies, manages to get a few tickets to one of our meetings."

"This organization seeks the support of the 100,000,000 Americans who are against war," he said. "It is not crazy enough to want the support of a handful of Bundists, Communists and Christian Fronters who are without number, without influence, without power and without respect in this or any other community."

Other telegrams read to the audience included anti-war sentiments from Sinclair Lewis, novelist husband of Dorothy Thompson, interventionist columnist, Lillian Gish, motion picture actress, and Robert E. Wood of Chicago, national chairman of the America First Committee.

Among those on the platform were Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Senator; Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Lindbergh, Mrs. Archie Roosevelt, Mrs. Philip Roosevelt, Michael Strange, William Gaxton, actor; Oswald Garrison Villard, Amos R. E. Pinchot, the Rev. James J. Gillis, editor of The Catholic World, and Professor Edward R. Etkner of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Station WOR and the Mutual system broadcast Mr. Lindbergh's speech; the NBC and CBS networks Senator Wheeler's.

A youth who identified himself as Frederick C. Langbein of 180 Harrington Street, Bergenfield, N. J., a member of the America First Committee, was ejected from the Garden by detectives, one of whom he accused of hitting him in the face. He insisted that he had done nothing but stand up and applaud. He said he had attended the meeting with his mother and father.

The overflow crowd, which listened to the speeches over amplifiers set up in Forty-ninth Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, was estimated at between 8,000 and 14,000 persons. The crowd gathered after the doors of the Garden were closed at 8:27 P. M. by order of the Fire Department to all ex-

cept holders of reserved seats. Previously tickets had been supplied to some of the crowd by the police, who said they had received them from the sponsors of the meeting.

Police orders forbade picketing outside the Garden, and most anti-Nazi organizations had asked the right to picket, contented themselves with placards and handbills at tribute street corners. This was near-by.

done by about fifteen organizations from interventionist groups, vendors of Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" magazine.

Twenty-two members of the Civil Democratic Youth of America carrying signs urging all-out Britain, attempted to picket were turned back by the police on Eighth Avenue and Fifty Street, where they got into the return to their headquarters.

LINDBERGH JOINS IN WHEELER PLEA TO U.S. TO SHUN WAR

22,000 at Madison Sq. Garden
Peace Rally Cheer Leaders'
Attacks on Intervention

ROOSEVELT IS ASSAILED

Call for Return to Isolation
Stand Demanded—Move to
Eject McWilliams Fails

*Texts of the Lindbergh and
Wheeler speeches, Page 7.*

Charles A. Lindbergh, making his second anti-war address in New York under the auspices of the America First Committee, joined with Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana last night in attacking President Roosevelt's foreign policy and in demanding leadership at Washington to keep this country out of war and to return to isolationism. They spoke to a capacity crowd of 22,000 at Madison Square Garden. An estimated 8,000 to 14,000 listened at loudspeakers in the street.

Senator Wheeler appealed to the President to issue an appeal for peace to the peoples of Germany, Italy, England and Japan, and to demand that the "war makers," among whom he classed Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy; former Ambassador William C. Bullitt and Colonel William J. Donovan with "the Hitlers in Germany, and the Churchills in England," step down and out. He urged a "just" peace, not in the interests of either British Tories and specialists or of power or land-hungry dictators.

"One-Man Government" Scored

The Senator denounced "one-man government" and warned that the American people might lose faith in their government if the President "repudiates" his election pledges not to take the country into a foreign war. Mr. Lindbergh also warned of the danger to our system of government from the same source, asking both Democratic and Republican leaders to take notice, and followed this with an appeal to his hearers to support him and his associates in the America First Committee in creating new leadership.

Both speakers asserted that America has nothing to fear from foreign invasion, provided it has the right leadership, and both asserted there was a growing development of public opinion throughout the country against the President's position on the war issue.

The audience was highly demonstrative and noisy, breaking into speeches with repeated outbursts of applause for every statement that America wants to keep out of war, for every mention of Mr. Lindbergh, Senator Wheeler and other isolationist leaders, for all isolationist slogans, and for all assertions that the United States is strong and mighty enough not to worry about its defense from any invader, even if Britain falls and the British fleet is taken over by Hitler.

It gave vent to its enthusiasm on the negative side with equally loud boos and hisses for President Roosevelt, for Wendell L. Willkie, for Secretaries Knox and Stimson, for Ambassador Halifax of Great Britain, for the British Empire, and for all other persons and organizations who favor all-out aid to Britain, or who argue that it is in the interest of the United States to keep Nazi Germany from defeating Britain.

While more than 800 policemen guarded the Garden inside and out, against threatened clashes between

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. TIMES

DATE
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy

Welcome, Brother --:-- By Frank C. Waldrop

THAT old Communist, also Fascist, labor baiter, scared millionaire, country bumpkin and confused Japanese spy, Mr. Sinclair Lewis, has just come over to the America First Committee.

He has even fallen so low as to sponsor a rally at New York for such foreign agitators as Charles A. Lindbergh, Burton K. Wheeler and Kathleen Norris.



Frank C. Waldrop

This calls for some explaining because, as you must know, Mr. Lewis's missus is in the papers all the time against Hitler and surely there must be some mistake.

Nope. No mistake. Mr. Lewis just happens to believe in America First after weighing all elements, even including the excellent living that cussing Hitler has produced for his missus.

MR. LEWIS is not alone as an intellectual who does not swallow the proposition to pin democracy down over all the earth with bayonets.

(He may be offended at being called an intellectual, and who could blame him, but there must be SOME word to indicate a fellow who thinks about abstractions for a living.)

He is not the only intellectual now standing with America First.

There was an incident in Washington only a week ago today that shook some certain persons like, as P. G. Wodehouse has so aptly put it, a jelly in a high wind.

THE incident was the appearance of Felix Morley before the America-First Committee of

Washington. Mr. Morley is also one who thinks about abstract matters for a living, though not all the time, for he is a college president.

For several years, Mr. Morley was editor of *The Washington Post*, a newspaper notably devoted to a foreign policy now commonly described as *interventionist*.

As editor, Mr. Morley was strong for the United States' entering the League of Nations, collaborating with Britain, and otherwise falling in with various schemes of what used to be known as "collective security."

ABOUT a year ago, Mr. Morley left Washington to become president of Haverford College, in Pennsylvania. And in his occasional writings ever since he has moved further and further away from intervention.

At that meeting of Saturday a week ago, he left his past entirely behind and announced:

1. Charles A. Lindbergh is a great American because, if for no other reason, he has the guts to stand up for what he really believes.

2. The America First Committee is on the right track in opposing these present steps toward war.

3. We should arm fully and completely for defense and prepare against the peace when we must—Mr. Morley didn't put it in these exact words—take over the world leadership the British Empire once exercised; not a brutal military leadership, but a leadership in commerce and industry.

4. The newspapers and the college professors are taking the weak and easy way out when they let an apparent flood of public opinion carry them into approval of the war policy now

dominating the Administration here.

5. The America First Committee may now represent a minority public opinion but very shortly it will be a majority—said Morley—and he intimated the speed will be determined by the speed with which the Administration seems to move toward a shooting war.

THAT was no easy stand for Mr. Morley to take, no matter how easy it might now have become for Mr. Sinclair Lewis to go contrary to his missus.

Felix Morley is the son of an Englishman. He was educated in England. His brother, Christopher, is even now writing poems for the Bundles for Britain campaign. And Felix Morley genuinely wants America to help Britain win.

But—and this is the important thing—he does not want to see his country go into this foreign war. He fears it is about to. He has cast out and aside all his inherent emotional bias, therefore, and laid himself open to cruel accusations by friends and relatives, to say:

"Stay out of the war!"

IF YOU have been feeling the lack of heavy thinkers to offset the galaxy of twittering playwrights and poetists trotted out by the interventionists ever and anon to prove their project noble in purpose and approved among the laurel groves, we give you a new recruit to America First, Mr. Sinclair Lewis.

His Nobel Prize and long career as a great author weigh, for much, even balanced against his bounding missus.

And if you want a representative of high moral purpose, note Felix Morley.

Above all:

STAY OUT OF THE WAR

b7c

Jan 24 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Tracy.....

By the Associated Press

With the declaration that America could be the "strongest and most influential" country in the world, Lindbergh asserted that "we lack only a leadership that places America first, a leadership that does for 130,000,000 people what Washington did for us when we were only 3,000,000 people, a leadership that tells what it means and means what it says."

Saying that a "rising cry against war" was coming from the country, Lindbergh asserted: "It asks how this situation came about. It demands an explanation of what happened at the elections last November. It demands an accounting from a Government that has led us to war while it promised us peace."

Senator Wheeler, Montana Democrat, demanded that President Roosevelt "rid himself of those war makers that surround him, who refuse to understand the wishes of the people," and said he believed that the President could demand that "the war makers, the Hitlers of Germany, the Churchills of England and the Knoxes and Stimsons, step down and out."

Lindbergh and Wheeler were the principal speakers at a rally of the America First Committee at Madison Square Garden.

In his prepared address, Lindbergh drew a parallel between the foreign policy of the American Government and that of the Hitler regime in Germany, saying that "we had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves."

About 500 policemen stood guard. Officials of the Fight for Freedom Committee, the Friends of Democracy and several other organizations were notified by police that picketing would be prohibited.

An hour and a half before Lindbergh was scheduled to speak, Deputy Chief Police Inspector Louis F. Costuma estimated the audience inside at 20,000 persons. All tickets had been sold at 7:40 p. m. An estimated 2,000 persons were outside the building.

Five youth organizations, the League of Youth for Democracy, the Federated Council for Americanism, the Social Democratic Youth Democracy's Volunteers and the Student Defenders of Democracy, issued a statement declaring that "the right to picket is a constitutional one and to be arbitrarily denied this right is an infringement upon our civil liberties."

L. M. Birkhead, National Director of the Friends of Democracy, charged in a telegram to Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, that the rally was to be a focal point for "Nazi and Communist forces in the New York area."

Boos and loud yells resounded through the Garden when John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter of the America First Committee, disavowed any Nazi support of the rally and excoriated Joseph E. McWilliams, founder of the American Destiny Party and unsuccessful candidate for Congress in last fall's election.

Pointing out McWilliams, seated in the fifth row, Flynn, after declaring that all who urged peace were labeled as Nazis, shouted above the din:

"And right here, not many faces from where I am, is sitting a man named McWilliams. What he is doing here, how he gets in here, whose stooge he is I do not know, but I know the photographers of these warmongering newspapers can always find him when they want him.

"The America First Committee does not want the support of a handful of Bundists who are here, without respect, without power, in this community or any other."

Several persons seated near McWilliams, twice convicted of disorderly conduct for making anti-Semitic speeches in the German community of Yorkville, rose and shouted at Flynn. One especially loud heckler was asked to leave, which he did.

Two other persons in the rear of the Garden were escorted out when they jeered during a speech by Socialist Leader Norman Thomas.

Early in his speech, Senator Whcelser disavowed any Nazi or Communist support and described his followers as "simply pro-Americans."

"I was denouncing Hitler when Lord Halifax was shooting wild boar with Goering in Germany," Wheeler said. "I was denouncing Mussolini when Churchill was saying (in 1927) 'if I were an Italian

At the outset Wheeler paid tribute to Lindbergh, saying that "upon him the warmongers have turned their scorn and abuse, but he has continued to fight the fight of peace and democracy."

Lindbergh reiterated the theme of other recent addresses, that he opposed "our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America, and our way of life, can survive our participation."

"From every section of our country a cry is rising against this war," Lindbergh said. "But it is a cry that reaches beyond the question of war alone . . . it echoes from the very foundations on which our system of government is built."

Wheeler expressed a fear "that if the President accepts the advice of that little coterie who surround him, most of whom never faced an electorate or met a pay roll or tried a lawsuit, he will wage an undeclared war. And then—constitutional democracy will end."

Lindbergh contended that democracy cannot be spread by force of arms.

"If we cannot make other nations wish to copy our American system of government, we cannot force them to copy it by going to war," he said.

"On the contrary, if we go to war to preserve democracy abroad, we are likely to end by losing it at home. There are already signs of danger around us.

"We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But, have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering."

Lindbergh said he opposed the European war before it started because he felt it would be disastrous for Europe.

"I knew that England and France were not in a position to win," he said, "and I did not want them to lose. I now oppose our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America, and our way of life, can survive our participation."

WASHINGTON

MAY 24 19.

War to Doom Democracy, Lindy Says

U. S. Being Led Into Conflict by Hitler Methods, He Warns

Lindbergh's Text on Page 6

By WILLIAM FULTON

NEW YORK, May 23 (C.T.P.S.). A cheering crowd of more than 22,000 packed Madison Square Garden tonight to hear a warning from Col. Charles A. Lindbergh that the people in this country were being led to war just as "Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent."

Speaking before the largest gathering held on the Eastern seaboard by the America First Committee were the famous flyer, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Socialist Leader Norman Thomas, Economist John T. Flynn and Kathleen Norris, well known author.

War Hysteria Ridiculed

Senator Wheeler ridiculed what he referred to as the war hysteria in this city, saying that some people seemed to think that Hitler's panzer divisions soon were going to roll down Broadway. He urged that President Roosevelt use his office to promote world peace and turn from the advice of "the warmongers and their satellites" in their "crusade of blood and destruction."

A near-riot occurred soon after the meeting started when Chairman Flynn, of the New York chapter, denounced Joseph McWilliams, who was sitting in the seventh row, as a local apostle of fascism.

There were shouts of "Throw him out!" and Flynn could not proceed for several minutes. A number of America First members encircled McWilliams menacingly, but he stayed in his seat.

Message Read

Flynn read a message from William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, declaring that virtually the country's whole population was against continuation of this stupid and insane war.

There were also messages from William Gish, the actress, and Sinclair Lewis, the author who once wrote a novel about dictatorship coming to America. Lewis' wife is Dorothy Thompson, one of the most avid interventionists in the movement toward war.

Socialist Leader Thomas attacked the Administration's leading war advocate, Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, as a "Hitler on the floor of the Senate." He assailed the Senator for proposing in the Senate a war on five continents in the name of peace.

Lindbergh asserted that if the country was plunged into the conflict abroad in the name of saving democracy, we would likely end up by losing it at home.

Intolerance Attacked

"There are already signs of danger around us," he said. "We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But, have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our Government has followed?"

"No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of

fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves."

Colonel Lindbergh called for what he termed "an independent destiny" for America. This did not mean isolation, he said, but it did mean that the future of America would not be tied to the eternal wars of Europe.

"An independent American destiny means, on the one hand, that our soldiers will not have to fight everybody in the world who prefers some other system of life to ours," he continued. "On the other hand, it means that we will fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere, and that we will do so with all the resources of our nation."

Senator Wheeler offered a plea that President Roosevelt lead a peace movement.

Leadership Needed

"Tonight the warmongers and their satellites demand that President Roosevelt assume leadership in their crusade of blood and destruction," he said. "They decry his leadership. Why? Because he has merely taken us to the brink of war. These sordid romanticists—jingoistic journalists and saberrattling bankers in New York criticize the President for barely keeping his promises. Only war—blood—sweat—tears—and destruction can satisfy their lust."

"The people of all the world look to Franklin D. Roosevelt

They see him—a symbol of li—a champion of the downtro—they see him as their knight leader for peace.

"The President of the U States could appeal to the for peace—he could appeal to Hitler or to Mussolini Churchill but to the people of many, Italy and England. could demand that the makers—the Hitlers of Gern—the Churchills in England the Knoxes and Stimson down and out. I believe he c dictate the peace of the wor he would. But first he must himself of those warmakers surround him—who refuse understand the wishes of the ple."

Statement Attacks Meeting

On the stage were such not as Alice Roosevelt Longworth Mrs. Martha Taft, wife of Sen Robert Taft, of Ohio. Mrs. O'Brien, New York State c man of the Gold Star Mothers brought forward and introdu

Two hours before the me started, the Committee to De America by Aiding the Allies out a statement attacking meeting and claiming it had full support of Nazis, Commun and anti-Semitic organizations. Agents of the Friends of Democracy, meanwhile, went outside the auditorium distributing handbills linking Lindbergh with the Nazis and claiming meeting was packed with Hitler enthusiasts. Six hundred police served order both inside and outside the Garden.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

Texts of the Addresses by Lindbergh and Wheeler Before 22,000 at Garden Place Rally

AT AMERICA FIRST RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN LAST NIGHT

The texts of the addresses of Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of the Madison Square Garden rally under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the American First Committee follow:

Charles A. Lindbergh

We are assembled here tonight because we believe in an independent destiny for America. Such a destiny does not mean that we will build a wall around our country and isolate ourselves from contact with the rest of the world. But it does mean that the future of America will not be tied to these eternal wars in Europe. It means that American boys will not be sent across the ocean to die so that England or Germany or France or Spain may dominate the other nations.

An independent American destiny means, on the one hand, that our soldiers will not have to fight everybody in the world who prides some other system of life to ours. On the other hand, it means that we will fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere, and that we will do so with all the resources of our nation. It means that we rely on our own strength, our own ability and our own courage to preserve this nation and to adjust any man who is rash enough to attack us. It means that those United States of ours can compete in commerce or in war with any combination of foreign powers, and that we are no more afraid of the Europe of Germany than our forefathers were afraid of the Europe of France or England or Spain.

No Reason for Fear

We in America should have no reason to fear. With adequate leadership we can be the strongest and most influential nation in the world. No other country has so great resources. None is as easily defended. We look only to a leadership that tells what it means and what it says. Give us that and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that and we will be so united that no one will dare to attack us.

Our country is not divided today because we fear war, or socialism, or because we fear anything at all. We are divided because we are asked to fight over issues that are Europe's and not ours—because Europe created by her own shortsightedness. We are divided because many of us do not wish to fight again for England's balance of power, or for her domination of Italy, Mesopotamia, or Egypt, or for the Polish Corridor, or for another treaty like Versailles. We are divided because we do not want to cross an ocean to fight on foreign continents for foreign causes, against an entire world combined against us. Many of us do not think of the point of a machine gun, on the peoples of Germany, Russia, Italy, France and Japan. Many of us do not believe democracy can be kept in such a manner. We believe that we are more likely to lose it at home than to spend it abroad by prolonging this war and sending millions of our soldiers to death in Europe.



General view of the event that was attended by an estimated crowd of 22,000 persons



On the program: Left to right—Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas

war in which our losses are Flynn, all of us on the Axis—against our own government in save the British Empire. The

night. No nation dependent upon another is or can be an independent nation, and those who parade as Americans but who tell us that we are dependent upon the British Navy are unworthy of the name of Americans.

We are building a two-ocean navy. It will protect this hemisphere. Except for a few miles it will be ready for service within two years. Hitler can invade this hemisphere within the next few months he could cover it even though he captured the entire British fleet and the remainder of the French and Italian fleets and these fleets were able to command. This is not idle talk from a revival chair speaker. Ask any top ranking, active, working American naval officer. Let us examine the facts. If Hitler seized the British fleet tomorrow he would be required to man these ships. Each man must be trained for his task. Many require the greatest skill and longest experience. It would take a year to man these ships. It would take a year to man these ships. It would take a year to man these ships.

Make Field Work at Sea. Hitler has on that ship and he will not leave it until long after we are ready for him. If he attempts to invade this country, he will have to take the British fleet with him. It is inconceivable that the British fleet would ever come into Hitler's hands. In this the Germans sank their whole fleet rather than deliver it to Hitler. Without the British navy it would take Hitler at least seven years to build a fleet equal to ours.

To invade South or North America this leader must have a tremendously superior fleet. It is significant that the British and the French never attempted a coastal invasion of Germany. They always chose land operations.

Any of our naval experts will tell you the German fleet today is insignificant. The British have smashed the Italian fleet. For Hitler to attempt an invasion of the Americas would be suicide. Transports carrying men require fleet protection. German submarines are small. They were designed to operate close to their base—within a few hundred miles of England. They could not be used to transport troops in any great number, while American submarines are large. They are built for long range. They can cross the Atlantic and back without refueling. They could harass and sink transports over the entire route. No invader could maintain a supply line from Berlin to New York. American bombing planes, protected by fighters, could destroy any invader.

America is the German captured the British fleet—where would get the ships to transport the troops? Two or three thousand transports for men, another thousand to carry the heavy tanks, the motor vehicles, the military supplies that would be necessary. Tonight it is doubtful whether Germany could obtain a hundred small transports, or transport a hundred thousand men. Why, we would wipe out a hundred thousand men in no time. It would take at least ten

their President but in their form of government. I am afraid that if our national day grows greater and greater we will resort to dishonorable or inflation. I am afraid that if the President accepts the advice of that little circle who surround him, most of whom have never faced an electorate or met a payroll, or tried a lawsuit and many of whom are impractical dreamers, he will wage an undeclared war. And then Constitutional government in the United States will be at an end.

I am afraid that when American boys return from Singapore, Hong Kong, Bombay, Dakar and the Red Sea, Armenia, Negress, maimed and insane, and when American boys return to seek jobs when there are no jobs, they will be embittered and disillusioned. Some of them will seek those who said election pledges of peace were mere campaign oratory.

War's Aftermath Fears

I fear the aftermath of war. A post-war period is far more threatening and dangerous to this country than any foreign military or naval force. If we enter the conflict, we would become at that moment a regimented nation. No individual would be subordinated to one person—the Commander in Chief—and the objective, the waging of war. From such a state, democracy could hardly be recovered. Our men and women, disillusioned, disgraced and even destroyed mentally and morally, would come back and social dislocation, would turn to the mass on tomorrow. Then, and not before, would there arise all the American mobsters and from them would come our native Hitler, an American Hitler or an American Hitler.

The workers, the farmers, the business and professional men, people from every walk of life look to the President of the United States for leadership, for another brand of leadership, and a new brand of guidance. They are not alone. The people of all the world look to you, President Franklin D. Roosevelt. They look to you with upturned faces, with prayers on their lips and hope in their hearts. They see you, a symbol of liberty, a champion of the down-trodden; they see you as their knight, a hope for peace.

These people are realistic; they are not dreamers. English mothers, Italian mothers, German mothers know what it is to have sons fighting, killing and destroying. Certainly all thinking people the world over understand the cost and the futility of war. They want peace; peace before the people of the world and civilization are doomed; before they sink into a common grave of despair and destruction.

Appeal for Peace Urged

You, President Roosevelt, could appeal in the world for peace. You could appeal, not to Hitler or to Mussolini or to Churchill, but to the people of Germany, Italy, England and Japan. You could demand that the war makers in Hitler's Germany, the Churchills in England and the Moores and Binchons in America step down and out. I believe you could bring about the peace of the world if you would. But first you must rid yourself of those war makers that surround you and who refuse to understand or heed the wishes of the American people.

that American influence be diverted from the channels of war to the channels of peace. The American people know that Hitler promised Poland we would enter when President Roosevelt was promising our people continued peace. The American people know that it was Colonel Donovan's promise that sent Yugoslavia into battle. If the American war makers really are interested in preserving the following British Empire, if they really believe that the British Navy is our first line of defense, then they should join us and work for peace now.

The tremendous power, present and potential, of the United States, and to the cause of peace, must wait stop this needless slaughter of humans and needless destruction of property. With this destiny of mankind in the balance, the time has come to act, to act for a just peace, not in the interest of the British Empire or imperialists, not in the interests of power or land-hungry dictators, but in the interest of all the people of the world.

The American people, the people of America, want no convulsions, and they want no war. Tonight most of the world is engaged in a bloody battle. I ask in behalf of untold millions that the President of the United States, at the risk of being called an appeaser, appeal to all the people of the world to stop war, now, before it is too late.

Plea to Interventionists

And here I address a plea to any interventionists who may be listening to me tonight. I ask them to consider what a prolonged war will bring. I ask them to consider what the last war brought to Europe—in Russia, to Italy, to Germany and now to France and England and even the smaller countries. I ask them to remember that we in America returned from that war with the loss of relatively few soldiers, but that now we face a

Sacrifices Are Obed

Every one of us has made some sacrifices to attend this rally. You have given up an evening at home or with your friends. Senator Wheeler has come from Washington to talk to us. He represents the type of leadership that places America first. Mr. Thomas has added this engagement to an already crowded schedule. If all of our leaders had the courage, integrity and vision that these men have shown, this country would not be on the verge of war today. Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Margaret W.

[illegible]

These are the main reasons for the opposition of the United States to the proposed Americanization of the population. It is the policy of the United States to maintain the English language and the English way of life in this country. It is the policy of the United States to maintain the English language and the English way of life in this country. It is the policy of the United States to maintain the English language and the English way of life in this country.

Merry and repartition
 And so today the warmakers,
 They're all the same, they're all the same,
 They sacrifice your boys from home
 to practice the holiest British Kim-
 ura in our control here
 world dominated by a dictator.
 Our dear little British Empire
 racy in a world of autocratic
 monarchies in 1776. Less than
 a century later, the British Empire
 learned his armed might against
 the Americas and against Russia.
 Europe, the British Empire
 Father Amos declared, I quote:
 "The British Empire is the
 battles and the battles of man-
 kind, and France is combating
 the British Empire, and the British
 plunder us and all the world."
 Scotts at Invasion
 Today our warmakers in right-
 mindedness have taken to the air
 their savior says the question—
 "Is it worth it?" "Is it worth it?"
 "British fleet?" They imply all
 would be lost. They suggest that
 the British Empire is the British
 reason: "The Panzer divisions
 would roll down Broadway and
 they would take the British Empire
 in Montana. How fantastic!"
 I affirm that all the British
 would be lost and fall, in the
 British Empire.

[illegible]

Figure 1 illustrates the experimental setup. A subject is seated at a table, looking at a video screen. A camera is positioned above the screen. A horizontal bar is placed on the table, with a vertical rod attached to it. The rod is connected to a motor unit, which is in turn connected to a power source. The video screen displays the subject's view of the bar and the rod.

War Will Doom U. S. Democracy, Lindbergh And Wheeler Assert

Advisers Want Roosevelt
To Wage Undeclared
Fight, Senator Charges

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, May 24.—Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana predicted in speeches last night that United States participation in the European War would mean the end of American democracy.

They spoke in Madison Square Garden at a rally sponsored by the America First Committee and attended by a crowd estimated by police at 20,000.

Col. Lindbergh opposed United States entry into the conflict because, he said, "I do not believe that our system of government in America and our way of life can survive our participation."

It was Senator Wheeler's thought that "If the President accepts the advice of a little coterie who surround him . . . he will wage an undeclared war. And then—constitutional democracy will end."

Says U. S. Wants Accounting.

Col. Lindbergh pleaded for a leadership that would do "what Washington did for us when we were only 3,000,000 people, a leadership that tells what it means and means what it says."

The country, crying out against war, he said, "demands an explanation of what happened at the elections last November. It demands an accounting from a Government that has led us to war while it promised us peace."

Boos and yells echoed through the Garden when John T. Flynn,

chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, repudiated any Nazi support of the rally.

Pointing to Joseph E. McWilliams, founder of the American Destiny party who twice has been convicted of disorderly conduct for making anti-Semitic speeches in the German community of Yorkville, Mr. Flynn shouted:

McWilliams called "Stooge."

"And right here, not many paces from where I am, is sitting a man named McWilliams. What he is doing here, how he gets in here, whose stooge he is, I do not know . . ."

"The America First Committee does not want the support of a handful of Bundists who are here, without respect, without power, in this community or any other."

Disavowing Nazi or Communist support and describing his followers as "simply pro-Americans," Senator Wheeler said "I was denouncing Hitler when Lord Halifax was shooting wild boar with Goering in Germany. I was denouncing Mussolini when Churchill was saying (in 1927) 'if I were an Italian I would be a Fascist.'"

Five hundred police stood guard inside of the garden during the meeting, which passed without incident except for the ejection of one heckler after Mr. Flynn's exhortation of McWilliams and of two others who jeered Norman Thomas, Socialist leader.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. J. Connelley
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Kramer

Washington Evening Star

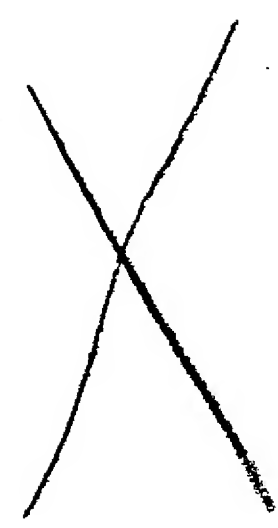
May 24, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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60% AT GARDEN RALLY PRO-NAZI, MORRIS SAYS

America First Conclave Held Similar to Bund Session

At least 60 per cent of the persons who attended the anti-war rally sponsored by the America First Committee in Madison Square Garden last Friday night were members of or sympathizers with the German-American Bund, Newbold Morris, President of the City Council, declared last night. He spoke at the annual dinner of the Knights of Pythias, State of New York, given in honor of the present Grand Chancellor, David M. Engelson, at the Hotel Commodore.

Mr. Morris told the 800 members and guests of the order present that after observing most of the 20,000 persons enter the Garden for Friday night's rally he was convinced that "60 per cent" were of "the same type" as those who attended a rally in the Garden sponsored by the Bund in 1938. At that time, he recalled, he, as acting Mayor, had refused to cancel the Bund's permit for the rally, which was held ostensibly in honor of George Washington.

"The audience last Friday was of the same type and it made the same noises," Mr. Morris said. "In 1938 George Washington was their patron saint, but his spirit rebelled and their peanut Fuehrer is now serving a prison sentence. Now they are using Senator Wheeler (Burton K. Wheeler) and he doesn't seem to mind."

The "peanut Fuehrer" he referred to is Fritz Kuhn, former leader of the Bund.

CH-21

NOT RECORDED
100-4712-A

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. TIMES

DATE MAY 25 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

America First Head Would Give Up Area Below 'Bulge'

He Would Scrap the Monroe Doctrine and Surrender Territory Within Bombing Range of the Panama Canal

By KENNETH CRAWFORD

CHICAGO, May 24.—Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, submitted to questioning about his isolationist position for more than an hour today, with the following results:

Q. From what we have read, Gen. Wood, we understand that you opposed passage of the lend-lease bill but that once it was passed you accepted it and have since expressed approval of the provisions for helping the British in their war with the Fascist countries of Europe—with certain very important reservations.

A. Yes, we have accepted the lend-lease legislation with certain reservations. Our principal reservation is against interpretation of the bill as an authorization of convoys. We were given to understand by Administration senators favoring the bill that it did not authorize convoys—in fact, that the question of convoys was not involved. This, mind you, was not our own interpretation. It was the interpretation of senators speaking for the Administration.

Q. To be specific, now that the act is passed, you would have us sell to the British here in this country—but we would under no circumstances help get the goods across the Atlantic. No matter what happened you would stick to this because you think that any further measure of aid, such as convoying, would lead to our involvement in the war?

A. That is not quite my position. I would help the British to the extent of lending them or giving them cargo ships and even battleships—provided these ships were manned by British crews and flew the British flag. Provided, also, of course, that gifts of fighting ships did not, in the opinion of the President, weaken our defensive position. It is my opinion, however, that convoying by our own Navy under the American flag would lead us into war inevitably. I draw the line at convoying.

IN SHARP VARIANCE WITH FDR POLICIES

Q. Thank you for that summary of your position. The course you advocate is at sharp variance—is it not?—with the policy of the U. S. Government, which, while it is not committed to a policy of convoying goods to Britain, has made it completely clear that it feels we are already menaced by aggression from abroad and that we should ourselves take the aggressive to meet this threat—that is, leave no stone unturned to get military aid to Britain and China. In that case, if the people of America follow your advice and bring pressure on the Administration to change its interpretation of the lend-lease bill to conform with your policy, they will be advocating a very different course of action from that now being pursued. Do you agree?

A. Not entirely. The America First Committee has never opposed aid to Britain within the limits of the neutrality law. But we are unalterably opposed to convoys.

Q. Now let us presume that the American people have done what you want them to do—and the Administration has accepted your policy. Let us imagine that in the President's next fireside address he says: "The purpose of the lend-lease bill is to be interpreted as all aid short of war. We will not lift a finger to help Great Britain get the supplies of war. We are going to stick 100 per cent to hemisphere defense." That is what you want, isn't it?

A. To say that I would not lift a finger to help Britain get the supplies of war is an overstatement of my position. I am in favor of

giving Britain the help that doesn't involve us in war. We can send all sorts of provisions and munitions without getting involved. Use of our Navy to escort these goods would be bound to involve us. If you mean: Am I against such escort service? the answer is yes.

RISK ON U. S. BECOMING A FASCIST STATE

Q. Do you think we risk turning into a Fascist state ourselves if we pursue the present policy of risking war with the Axis in order to aid Great Britain and China.

A. If we get into the war we will get Fascism, Communism or some other ism as the inevitable result.

Q. Now I think we have got the groundwork laid. If America follows the course you advocate do you consider Great Britain in any danger of defeat?

A. I have considered that Great Britain is in danger of defeat from the beginning. I agree with Col. Lindbergh on that. By this I mean that Great Britain is in danger of losing part of her Empire. I don't believe she is in danger of having to surrender the British Isles. I make a distinction between helping Great Britain defend England proper and underwriting a victory for the British Empire. These are two quite different things. To underwrite an Empire victory we would have to go into the war lock, stock and barrel and even then we might not be able to do it.

Q. Your policy means one thing if there is no danger of Great Britain's defeat. It means another if there is danger. We are trying to decide on the wisest policy to follow. You have emphasized facing realities in your speech. Is there or isn't there, in your opinion, a real chance that Great Britain will be defeated if we stop in our tracks and refuse to give her any more aid than the lending or giving of food and military materials in this country?

A. We are more than just lending and giving food and material. We are giving the British planes and ships. Even so, the danger of the British defeat remains very real.

Q. Before the Germans invaded and occupied Holland, Belgium and most of France your isolationist position was based on the opinion that the Germans could never get through the Maginot Line and therefore that talk of helping Britain as a necessity for defense of democracy was insincere. You said this many times, did you not?

A. No, I didn't say that talk of defending democracy was insincere. I did say that I didn't think the Germans could break through the Maginot Line. As a matter of fact, they never did; they flanked it. I assumed that the military experts were right when they said there was a little Maginot Line on the French flank but there wasn't.

ENGLAND MAY LOSE THROUGH ENVELOPMENT

Q. You concede now that Britain may lose the war if it cannot get enough food and supplies through the submarine and aerial blockade. Is that correct?

A. Yes, Great Britain may lose the war by envelopment from all sides. But I do not believe Great Britain can be successfully invaded. I have always contended that the islands could repulse any invader. She may be defeated by losses in other parts of the Empire—in the Mediterranean, for example. She may be so weakened that she will want to make a negotiated peace. Incidentally, I am of the opinion that the apparent German success in Crete does not mean anything so far as the defense of the British Isles is concerned. Crete was weakly garrisoned and its natural defenses are bad. That is not the case with England. The Crete affair doesn't prove any more about the vulnerability of England than did the German victory over Holland.

MORE

Would Not Defend U. S. Trade in This Hemisphere

(Continued from Page 4.)

Q. Do you feel that there is a strong possibility, if not a probability, that if we don't go a step further in helping Britain, if we continue to require the British to pick up American cargoes in American ports and run them through the blockade, their shipping reserves may be whittled down to a point where they cannot get enough munitions through the blockade to carry on the war against the Axis or even enough food to eat? In other words, that they will have no choice but to accept the terms of a Hitler-dictated peace?

A. Let me say again that I am perfectly willing to help the British solve their shipping problem by any act short of convoy. I am even willing to strip our coastwise shipping to provide the British with merchant tonnage. Britain, I believe, may have to accept a negotiated peace but that will not mean outright surrender.

Q. You do not believe, do you, that Hitler, if Britain capitulates, will settle on anything less than his own terms. Has anybody ever persuaded Hitler to soften his terms except at the point of a cannon?

A. I don't believe the British will have to accept any terms Hitler demands. This will be like a business deal in which one of the parties is in a stronger bargaining position than the other. But if the stronger presses his advantage too far, the weaker refuses to do business with him.

HITLER-DICTATED TERMS FOR PEACE

Q. If your policy is pursued, then isn't there a strong chance that Britain will lose the war and that they will have to accept Hitler-dictated peace terms? Do you think this statement needs any qualification?

A. Yes, I think it does. I think it is probable that Hitler will get what he wants in Europe but that he will not be able to destroy the British Empire. I think he will probably get, besides what he wants in Europe, a part of the British Empire, not all of it. He probably will get the Mediterranean area, including Gibraltar, Malta and Egypt.

Q. Do you think Hitler would be satisfied with Europe and the Mediterranean in view of his repeated statements that he will be satisfied with nothing less than total defeat of Britain?

A. As I have said, I do not think he will be in a position to take all of the British Empire.

Q. Do you agree that a German victory over Great Britain would, in all probability, leave the world roughly divided among three great powers, each with its own sphere of political and economic influence—Germany, the U. S. A. and Japan?

A. I should add to those three Russia and Great Britain. I believe Britain will remain a world power.

Q. Even such a diversion would leave some territory in an area of uncertainty and perhaps controversy, for example, Greenland. The Administration has announced that it considers Greenland part of the Western Hemisphere and therefore subject to U. S. protection under the Monroe Doctrine. The Germans, on the other hand, may consider it a necessary outpost of their own continental defense. They may undertake to make it a North Atlantic Singapore. What would you do about Greenland?

A. Greenland is a part of the Western Hemisphere. I would defend it. In this I concur in the Administration's position.

WOULDN'T RISK WAR IN GREENLAND'S DEFENSE

Q. Would you risk war with Germany to establish the claim that Greenland is part of the Western Hemisphere?

A. I would risk war with Germany in reference to any territory in the Western Hemisphere.

Q. In the event of a German victory, do you believe that we will or will not be able to do business with Hitler?

A. In my opinion we shall be able to deal with him. Europe will need us worse than we need Europe. He will have to deal with us.

Q. Will we have to deal with Hitler on his terms?

A. There will have to be mutual commercial understandings. He will not be able to impose his will upon us entirely or we on him. We will have the advantage in dealing with him because we have the resources to be independent.

Q. Assuming that Hitler wins the war, needing raw materials from the Western Hemisphere as he of course will, do you think he is more likely to enter into barter deals with Latin-American nations or with us?

A. He will trade where he can get the best terms. . . . deal with both of us. It must be remembered, that Germany doesn't engage in barter trade from choice. Having no gold, she must exchange her finished products for the raw materials she needs. Actually, the German system is not simple barter, it is a matter of clearing accounts in good rather than gold. After this war, England may have to adopt barter, too.

Q. Do you regard the Latin-American countries as democratic nations that naturally will be drawn into our orbit, or as dictatorships that may take more naturally to Hitler's way of doing business.

A. I lived in Latin America—in Panama—for many years and I know there are no democracies there—no democracies, that is, as we think of them. A South American doesn't go to the polls and freely cast a secret ballot. But trade isn't a matter of ideological attraction. It is a practical matter. Just as the Balkans are a natural customer of Germany, so Mexico and the Central American republics are natural customers of the United States. The continent to the south has to be divided up to be understood. Mexico and the nearby republics naturally do business with us. Argentina, Chile and Uruguay naturally deal with Europe. They are in the temperate zone, as we are, and raise the same things we do, whereas the countries near the equator sell us coffee and bananas and Mexico sells us metals. We have advantages of transport and communication in dealing with the nearby Latin Americas that Europe can never have. Brazil divides her trade, selling cotton in Europe and coffee to us.

WOULDN'T RISK MILITARY WAR FOR TRADE

Q. If it turns out that Hitler tries to muscle us out of the Latin Americas and exchange his own finished goods for raw materials, what will we do about it? You have said, I believe, that we should tolerate no unfriendly power in this hemisphere.

A. It all depends upon what you mean by muscling. If you are talking about a trade war, we shall have to fight him on the economic front in the Latin Americas—that is, we shall have to compete. I wouldn't wage a military war to expel a trade rival from South America. But I would wage war to expel any European power that tried to establish political sovereignty in this hemisphere. I would fight in a minute anyone who tried to establish a military or naval base here.

Q. How much of our Army and Navy would this require and for how long, in your judgment?

A. I haven't been in the military service for a good many years and I'm not competent to answer that. I will say this: that it depends upon how much of South America we defended. It would make a great difference whether we undertook to defend all of the South American continent or only the part as far south as the

MORE

Wood's Proposal Would Imperil U.S. Security

If Axis Had Half of South America, Lima Could Be Base Against Us

What are the physical realities of Gen. Robert E. Wood's project of handing over South America "below the bulge" of Brazil to the Axis?

A great many patriotic and defense-minded Americans have fallen into a state of understandable confusion on this point.

They look at the map and announce that Hitler would be further away from Bar Harbor in Rio de Janeiro than he is in Hamburg and let it go at that.

They forget that the U. S. A. does not begin at Bar Harbor, does not begin at New York, does not begin at Savannah—does not even begin at Miami. The U. S. A., defensively speaking, begins at the Panama Canal—the lifeline of the nation's naval operations; its point of impact from an enemy's offensive positions against us on the same land mass.

This was realized as long as 81 years ago by President Rutherford B. Hayes—hardly a warmonger executive—when he wrote in a message to Congress regarding his alarm over the threatened control of the future Panama Canal by France:

"It would be . . . virtually part of the coastline of the United States.

Thus, in permitting occupation of the territory of the Americas by a strong and potentially hostile power, the question of peril to the U. S. A. is not a matter of how far the enemy's bases are from Washington or Kookuk, but of how far they are from Panama.

Axis—or Nazi—Wehrmacht established "below the bulge" of Brazil would be at several important points on the South American mainland within less than 1000 miles bombing range of the republic's "defense jugular."

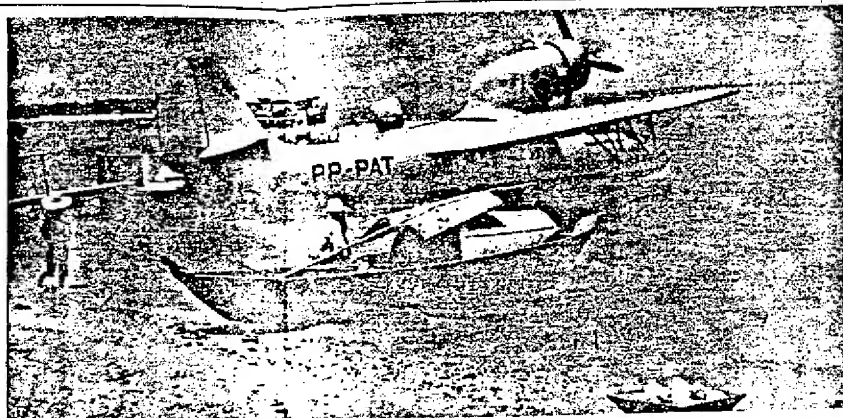
Gen. Wood's proposition is thus comparable to an invitation from the British statesmen to Hitler to help himself to Western Egypt. Manaus in the Brazilian Amazon jungle, Iquitos on the upper Amazon Peru are no further from the Canal than Tobruk is, relatively, from Suez.

U. S. Would Lose Affluence

To get a clear picture, though, of the meaning of the hemisphere—and domestic—defense handicap Gen. Wood proposes to give to Hitler, we need to consider it in three phases:

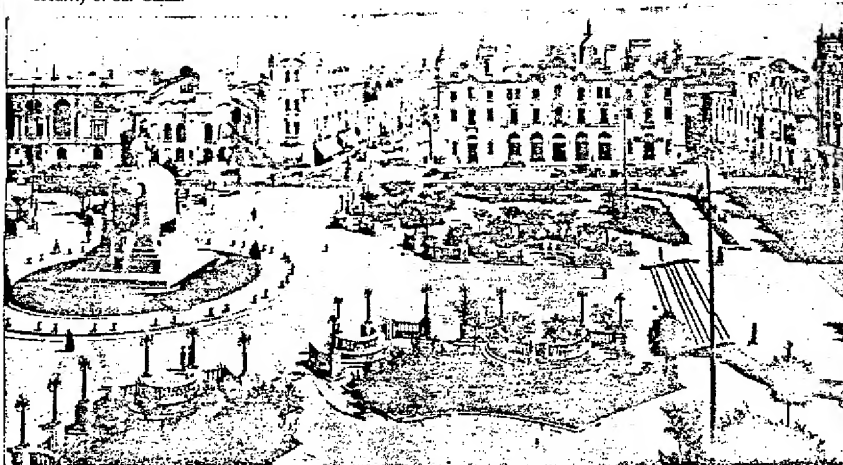
¶ The Axis would be handed complete economic and political control over 70,000,000 people in the wealthiest, most productive, most progressive and most rapidly growing sections of Latin America—the areas most likely to develop in the next few decades in industrialization and democracy. This would mean that great countries like the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, most of Peru, Uruguay, and Bolivia with its enormous tin and metal deposits, would be totally and permanently removed from the sphere of U. S. influence. Washington would have no more chance of playing a part in their future economic development, of holding their sympathies or of affecting their diplomatic policies than it has today of winning an influence for itself in the Nazi-controlled Balkans.

¶ The military peril has been only vaguely suggested in the opening paragraphs of this article. Within two or three weeks after their entrance into South America, the Nazis, with their super-modern military gadgetry, would control the key more completely than Cortez with his horses, his



Manaus, deep in Brazilian Amazon jungle, is little farther from the Panama Canal than Tobruk is from Suez—and, as this picture shows, it has air connections. Letting the Nazis have part of South America would obviously menace the security of our Canal.

Photo by Sthen, Jr.



Under Gen. Wood's proposal to let the Axis take half of South America, Peru's great city of Lima might become a base for operations against the U. S.

Photo by Victor Lacom

armor, and his terrifying toy cannon controlled the Aztecs. Within a year or two after German occupation of "South America below the bulge," German technicians would be able to build the roads, the military airports, the railways, the submarine and naval bases, the shipyards, the communication and transportation systems by which a major attack could be launched northward toward the center of Yankee security at Panama.

It is silly even to talk of defending South America "at the bulge." If the Nazis were given a treaty line five miles below the bulge, why should they stay there? They would inevitably, unless the whole nature of the Axis conquering drive should disintegrate, seek at once to drive a few miles beyond the bulge, which would take them to strategic points like Manaus and Iquitos.

In this case, the only defense recourse the U. S. A. would have would be to throw a defensive army into northern Brazil and

across northern Peru and Ecuador on a par with the kind of defensive armies the European powers have used to carry on their balance of power wars since the middle of the 19th century. The sacrifices to Hitler appeasement which Gen. Wood recommends would, in other words, condemn the U. S. A. inevitably and indefinitely to the kind of militaristic life which Europe has led for 100 years and which today is destroying her.

¶ Gen. Wood's appeasement recommendations would mean, if adopted, the official abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine. And, taken at its uttermost selfish terms as a policy of self-protection for the U. S. A., the Monroe Doctrine makes sense for the security of every man, woman and child in the U. S. A. and their future progeny.

The key sentences in the Monroe Doctrine read:

¶ "The political system of the allied (Axis,

to 1941 readers) powers is essentially different . . . from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the antipathetic relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

Gen. Wood of the America First Committee does not believe that our "peace and safety" would be endangered by having the Nazis with their dive bombers and Stukas, their gliders and parachute troops, their submarines and pocket battleships, their panzer divisions as our "good neighbors," five miles below Natal and Recife and less than 1000 miles below the Panama Canal.

What are the rest of us—including the naive Monroe Doctrineaires—going to do about it?

Christian Front Row May Split Isolationist Ranks

By JAMES A. WECHSLER

The aggressive role of Christian Fronters in the anti-war campaign may precipitate a serious split among American isolationists, it appeared yesterday.

Conflict between liberal isolationists (who believe that America can live alone and like it if we appease Hitler) and professional Coughlinites (who believe in appeasement for Fascism's sake) has been waged behind the scenes for many weeks. It broke out at Madison Square Garden Friday night when Charles A. Lindbergh brought his America First road company back to New York for a return engagement.

Center of the clash was John T. Flynn, pugnacious chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee. Mr. Flynn, who presided at the Garden meeting, is an ex-columnist for the *New Republic* and believes, among other things, that Bertrand Russell should have been allowed to teach at City College.

Uneasy in a bed which holds the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran and other Coughlinite emissaries, Mr. Flynn has been privately battling with the Frontmen. Before 22,000 people who filled the Garden Friday night he angrily put the finger on Coughlinites, Bundsmen and Communists and told them to go back where they came from. (Most of them came from Brooklyn where Front influence is strongest).

Ostensibly the target of Mr. Flynn's attack was Joe McWilliams, leader of the American Destiny Party, who stands on the extreme edge of the lunatic fringe. Only McWilliams' name was cited in Mr. Flynn's repudiation of pro-Fascist flag-wavers hiding behind America First's skirts.

The bulk of the Garden throng seemed sympathetic to Flynn's attack on McWilliams. There was only a smattering of applause for the Yorkville fustler who resembles an aging matinee idol and whose indiscretions (he never sugars his anti-Semitism) have embarrassed Father Coughlin's respectable spokesmen. McWilliams had to set up his own party because the Front found his presence too embarrassing.

But Flynn's blanket blast against the Front, which has been blessed by Coughlin and his Eastern lieutenants, created knot-tier problems. It was again apparent in the Garden turnout that one of the strongholds of the America First Committee is the bailiwick of Dr. Curran. The *Brooklyn Tablet*, which preaches Front doctrine and publishes Front activity, was presumably included within the scope of Flynn's attack.

The fact behind the furor is that Flynn has been battling hard to rid the America First movement of any tie with Coughlinites. And the Curran faction has been striving with equal vigor to rid the America First movement of Mr. Flynn.

When the America First Committee held a Brooklyn revival meeting a fortnight ago, Mr. Flynn was reported to be opposed to selection of Dr. Curran to deliver the invocation. Mr. Flynn lost. Then the *New York Enquirer*, which has reliable sources in Front circles, reported that Dr. Curran was out to get Mr. Flynn; and that the Coughlinite wing was angered not only by Mr. Flynn's role but by the presence of Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, on America First platforms.

Friday night Mr. Flynn won. Norman Thomas was one of the chosen oratorical quartet.

It was obvious that, while the bulk of the Garden crowd was ready and willing to turn thumbs down on Joe McWilliams, it was less unanimous on the subject of Dr. Curran, whose name was spouted into the Garden air by an unidentified heckler.

It wasn't clear whether the heckler was for him or against him. It was clear that the assemblage was split between those who think he is a great man and those who believe he is a slicker McWilliams.

There is no way of calculating the precise strength of the Coughlinite contingent in the America First movement. But in some areas (like Brooklyn) the movement has its primary backing in Coughlinite quarters, and the *Brooklyn Tablet* is virtually its house organ.

Despite this internal conflict the sponsors of the meeting seemed pretty pleased with the performance. Police estimated that 22,000 people were inside the Garden, 10,000 outside. It was the largest isolationist jamboree in this area.

At various intervals they yelled that they wanted Lindbergh or Wheeler for President, preferably Lindbergh. Nobody yelled "Thomas for President."

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Mr. Gandy

R. M. Hoover

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INDEXED

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA CONSTITUTION

May 25, 1941



ISOLATIONIST SALUTE—Shown at a New York rally of the American First Committee Friday night are (left to right) Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lind-

bergh, Kathleen Norris, novelist, and Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. All are outspoken isolationists. They are saluting—the American flag.

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100-1411--

AMERICA FIRST GAINING IN IOWA

Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First Committee, announced yesterday that the work of organizing Iowa—a task assigned to the Illinois chapter—is well under way.

Enthusiastic meetings, she said, have been held in Sioux City, Des Moines, Clinton and Dubuque. The Sioux City meeting adopted a resolution urging the national government to refrain from "any further steps which might involve the United States in war." Copies were sent to President Roosevelt and to the United States senators from Iowa.

Membership in the Illinois chapter has reached 327,000, it was announced.

This afternoon Dr. A. R. E. Wyant of Chicago will speak before the Hyde Park chapter in Graham Taylor Hall. His subject will be "Preserving Our American Way of Life."

Dr. Howard G. Swann of the University of Chicago will speak under the auspices of the Highland Park chapter.

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THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-25-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foran
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Egan	.....

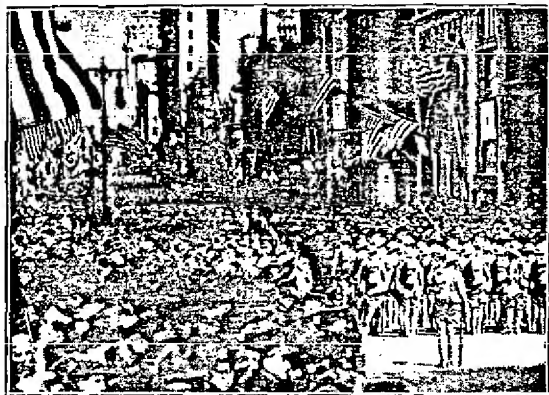
AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The News has resumed publication of America's Battle Page, presenting opposite views on the role this nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 17 when the space was required for maps illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the need for such maps from time to time, the Battle Page

hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. The News expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two positions, whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 5 East 47th St., New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)



This Is Not War....



But THIS Is!

Make your opinions count... TODAY... in the fight for peace.

Write or wire President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Representative at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Tell them you oppose convoys and war, that you do not want the widespread depression and misery—the probable destruction of our democracy—that war would cause.

Get others—your friends, relatives, associates in business, members of your church, social and civic groups—to write or wire today.

You must make your voice heard to save our way of life. *Senators for New York State are Robert F. Wagner and James M. Mead; for New Jersey, William H. Smathers and W. Warren Barbour; for Connecticut, Francis T. Maloney and John A. Danaher.

F. D. R. Will Speak

Tomorrow night Franklin Delano Roosevelt will speak to the people of the United States as their President. Whatever he says will make history. Hard pressed on every front, the democracies desperately need weapons—now. The defense lifeline between the Americas and Britain is fraying thin. Too many ships loaded from the arsenal of democracy are going down. What shall we do?

In this crisis the President's shoulders bear a heavy load. Under our Constitution he is charged with the conduct of foreign affairs, as well as being sworn to guard our safety as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.

The American people have given the President these responsibilities under a mandate to speed aid to the Allies. Whether we voted for him or not, we are Americans. F. D. R. is our elected President. We await his speech to hear what our country must do to make sure of its own security by making sure that the aid we demanded is effective.

That aid is not being made effective now.

Rear Admiral William A. Glassford warned us only last week that the war is being lost in the Atlantic. Here is how this practical old sea dog, commanding the American Yangtze Patrol, sizes up our situation:

"There is only one thing that can be done and that is to see to it that the ships get safely across the ocean. How it is to be done remains to be seen, but whether by convoys or otherwise, we cannot permit the situation to continue with sinkings which are five against two of replacement."

The Gallup Poll shows 71% of the American people favoring convoys if it appears that Britain will otherwise be defeated. That time now threatens. It may be later than we think.

We have all prayed that this war would not come to involve us. We have all hoped and prayed that our country might be spared. But for all our hopes and prayers it has pushed closer and closer to us. We can feel the hot breath of world war and world revolution from the east and from the west. We are surrounded.

Those who murdered liberty on one continent are stabbing into two others. They have sworn that democracy must die everywhere.

The dictators have parlayed their world war and world revolution across the board, grasping ever closer to the Western Hemisphere itself. With their fifth columns, their propaganda and their sabotage they have already invaded South America and Central America. THEY HAVE ALREADY INVADDED US.

We cannot escape this challenge. We cannot meet it with words or with supplies on the bottom of the ocean. Yet must it be met. We must meet it with action, effective action. Whatever the cost we must remove this threat to the safety of our homes. Tomorrow night F. D. R. will give us the facts and the leadership that only our elected Commander-in-Chief can give.

Will you strengthen his hand in meeting this menace?

A noisy minority would have the President take an ineffective and dangerous course. The great majority that knows where our safety lies must make itself heard.

Wire the President TODAY

that you will support wholeheartedly all courageous leadership he gives us Tuesday night for strong and quick action to stop Hitler over there.

Tell him that you believe that any compromise with the aggressors' Axis would be fatal to America.

Tell him that you do NOT believe our two oceans are enough to keep Hitler away from America.

Tell him that you do NOT want America to do too little and do that too late!

WIRE THE PRESIDENT TODAY

**6,000 MORE JOIN
AMERICA FIRST
ANTI-WAR DRIVE**

The Illinois America First committee enrolled 6,000 new members last week, bringing its total membership to more than 227,000, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced yesterday. In addition, five new chapters were formed.

The new units, which raise to 93 the number of America First chapters in Illinois, were organized in Des Plaines, Orland Park, Harvard, and Carthage, and in the Morgan Park district in Chicago.

Dr. A. R. E. Wyant, Chicago physician, will discuss "Preserving Our American Way of Life" at a rally sponsored by the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee at 4 p. m. today in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue.

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CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

5-25-41

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**AMERICA FIRST
TOLD OF PERILS
TO FREE SPEECH**

President Roosevelt's refusal to re-new the army commission of Hugh Johnson, former NRA chief, "smacks of an effort to intimidate and suppress free speech in opposition to the President's wishes," Dr. A. R. E. Wyant, a retired physician and educator, said yesterday in an address before the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee at 5757 University avenue.

"Has the reprobation of Charles A. Lindbergh been because of his exercise of free speech in opposition to the President's anticipated involvement in a foreign war?" Dr. Wyant asked. "Why talk about fighting abroad for freedom of speech and expression and deny it at home?"

Dr. Wyant said prowar forces are trying to cut off public debate on the question of peace or war for the United States by persuading the President to declare a national emergency. He warned that this would give President Roosevelt complete control of the radio and would muzzle the voice of the noninterventionist majority.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-26-4

OUR DEMOCRACY.

Entry of the United States into the World War would doom democracy in America, Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, professor of comparative religion at the University of Chicago, asserted in a speech before an "America First" rally. In one breath he asserts that democracy is doomed if we go to war; in the next he says, in effect, that we have never had democracy.

"America must first build a true democracy before it takes up arms against the totalitarian form of government," he declared. Note the word "true." We must build up "true democracy"; therefore we haven't had it in the past. We haven't had democracy; but democracy is doomed if we get into the war. We are about to lose something we never had!

Nor is Dr. Haydon any more lucid when he argues against himself on our mission to spread democracy throughout the world. Having failed to establish it here, we must spread it throughout the world.

"Half of the world could not be long held in serfdom if the other half was radiant with the beauties of an actualized democracy." (Note the word "actualized".) We have made a terrible botch of the democratic process, according to Dr. Haydon. Democracy, as we have known it, is not worth defending.

"If we are really loyal to the ideal we are being called upon to defend," he said, "we must begin here by curing the inequalities of our own life—by economic justice; by eliminating the poll tax; by opening the doors for the Negro; by crushing anti-Semitism; by freeing our people from the fear of homelessness and unemployment, and by breaking the shackles of special privilege that fetter our freedom."

Truly, there have been flaws in our system. Truly, flaws still exist and always will. But over a century and a half our system has produced a higher standard of living, and culture for a greater proportion of our people than any other system has ever produced for any other people anywhere, any time. It has made us foremost among the "have" peoples of the world. It has given us riches that have aroused the envy of those who have not. Our system is in no great danger from within. The danger lies without. And it is no fanciful danger.

Perhaps what we have called "democracy" is really not democracy at all, as Dr. Haydon contends. But it comes nearer to conferring the benefits of democracy than any system that mortal man has so far been able to make function. It is not perfect. It never will be perfect. But there are many Americans who believe that, with all its faults, it is worth fighting for.

St. Louis

Dr. Haydon would fight to improve it. He would not fight to preserve it. Apparently he believes that—come what may—we will be left free to achieve the reforms he advocates. Apparently he believes that, regardless of the outcome of the war—if only we keep out of it—we will be free to con-

tinue to enjoy our eminence among the "haves" of the world; free to pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of Utopian democracy unhindered by Hitler's new world order. Apparently he believes that, regardless of the outcome of the war—if only we remain aloof—there will still be chairs of comparative religion in American universities.

There are few spots on this globe at the moment where Dr. Haydon could practice his calling. There will soon be none, if those who believe as he believes, prevail.

100-47712-1
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-27-

Mr. Tolson.....
 Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
 Mr. Clegg.....
 Mr. Coworth.....
 Mr. Glavin.....
 Mr. Ladd.....
 Mr. Nichols.....
 Mr. Rosen.....
 Mr. Carson.....
 Mr. Egan.....
 Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
 Mr. Nease.....
 Mr. Tracy.....
 Mr. Harbo.....

R. M. Harbo

'AMERICA FIRST' TO HEAR LECTURE

BERKELEY, May 26. — Franklin Sinclair, lecturer writer, will speak Thursday evening before the local America First Committee in a mass meeting at the Garfield School, Vine and Sacramento Streets.

Sinclair, who formerly was a college lecturer in economics and once served as special investigator in the Farm Credit Administration, recently was appointed State chairman of the California America First Committee.

He is a graduate of the University of Minnesota.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

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SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

MAY 27 1941

'AMERICA FIRST' HEADS MINIMIZE ROOSEVELT TALK

Push Effort to Isolate U. S.; Coe Differs, Urges 'Closing of Ranks.'

(Continued from First Page.)

defense of the America First Committee, not the national policy of effective action for the defeat of the totalitarian powers.

F. D. R. Statement Disregarded.

Disregarding such epochal declarations by the President as that over and beyond our naval patrols now helping insure delivery of supplies to Britain, the United States will use "any and all further methods or combination of methods" that can or should be used, and that are "now being devised by our military and naval technicians" for delivery of the goods to Britain, the committee statement says:

"The President's speech last night was the least warlike of any of his utterances since election."

Despite President Roosevelt's declaration that the United States will "actively resist" Hitler's "every attempt to gain control of the seas" and intends to keep him away from "any point in the world which could be used or would be used as a base of attack against the Americas," the America First statement argued that the Chief Executive's address showed the results of tremendous isolationist opposition.

Opponents of America First philosophy and tactics, upon learning of the statement, declared this afternoon that clearly the isolationist organization felt it could justify its existence longer only by attempting to believe that the President's speech did not say what it did.

Chat Is Called 'Long.'

The text of the America First statement follows:

"The President's speech last night was the least warlike of any of his utterances since election. It bears unmistakable evidence that he has begun to listen to the American people.

"Last night's fireside chat was one of the longest ever made by the President. It was not as clear as it was long. This, undoubtedly, because it was an impossible attempt to satisfy the war party, Winston Churchill, and the noninterventionists. But it is the first time since election that the President has recognized so clearly the tremendous opposition of the American people to our involvement in foreign wars.

"In contrast with his more recent statements, the emphasis of his speech last night was on American defense rather than saving the world. To the extent the President adheres to the actual defense of America he will have a united nation behind him.

"It is important to remember that the declaration of emergency adds little, if at all, to the President's powers, and to whatever extent it does it relates solely to home affairs. The President has no power whatever to declare war or to carry

on armed hostilities without the consent of the Congress.

'War or Peace' Held Issue.

"The President quite properly avoided any direct statements which would infringe upon the constitutional power of Congress to declare war. The main issue facing the American people is still war or peace. On that issue the people of the United States must make their wishes known, in no uncertain terms, to the President and the Congress of the United States.

"The America First Committee urges the carrying out of the defense measures contained in the President's proclamation. The America First Committee also urges all Americans, in the interest of democracy and the welfare of this nation, to do everything in their power to maintain peace and avoid participation as a belligerent by this country in the European war now raging. We shall redouble our efforts to crystalize public opinion in support of the President's pledges to keep America out of other people's wars."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

No.	10
Mr. Forworth	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Stoen	
Mr. Clayton	
Mr. Byron	
Mr. John Tamm	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Tracy	
Miss Gandy	

5-28-41

McDonough Asks Ban on Peace Rally

State Education Department officials were urged today by William F. McDonough, former president of the Association of State Civil Service Employees, to close the doors of Chancellors Hall to a peace meeting of the America First Committee to-night.

Writing "as an individual" to Commissioner Ernest E. Cole, McDonough asked cancellation of the permit under which U. S. Senator D. Worth Clark, Idaho Democrat, was to speak against U. S. intervention in the war.

Permit Already Issued

The office of Dr. Lloyd L. Cheney, assistant commissioner of education who has supervision over the hall, said the permit was obtained by Mrs. Frank Bernhardt, president of the Albany Chapter of Mothers of America.

"There doubtless are halls and meeting places which may be used for any purpose, but state buildings should not, it seems, be used for dividing public opinion in times of national emergencies," wrote Mr. McDonough.

"Chancellors Hall," he continued, "should never be the scene of words or actions disrespectful to the government or to government officials."

The Education Department, under rules of the Board of Regents, is permitted to lease the hall to outside organizations at a \$50 fee, the price Mrs. Barnhardt agreed to pay for tonight's meeting.

No Action Expected

Filing in the permit application form, she said the nature of the program would be a "peace meeting." A "collection" is to be taken during the night to defray expenses, she said.

There was little prospect McDonough's letter would gain headway, although education officials indicated no action either way. Commissioner Cole is out of town.

McDonough asked that use of the hall be prohibited to "any group whose motives or whose patriotism is questioned by millions of Americans as wholly improper."

"The theories and principles enunciated by speakers such as Lindbergh, Wheeler and Clark..." he wrote, "are distasteful to loyal Americans if not actually helpful to the enemies of American freedom."

McDonough, a World War veteran, is a member of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He is an executive in the State Agricultural Department.

CLIPPING FROM THE KNICKERBOCKER NEWS
ALBANY, NEW YORK

DATE 5/28/41

FORWARDED BY THE ALBANY OFFICE

Mr. E. A. Tamm
 Mr. Clegg
 Mr. E. J. Connelley
 Mr. Glavin
 Mr. Ladd
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Carson
 Mr. Drayton
 Mr. Quinn Tamm
 Mr. Hendon
 Mr. Tracy
 Miss Gandy

R. K. [unclear]

'America First' Meet

A chapter of the America First committee is to be organized tonight at 8 o'clock at a meeting in Corinthian Hall, 4793 Mission street, according to announcement from the Northern California headquarters of the committee.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
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MAY 28 1941

MAY 28 3 38 PM '41

RECEIVED

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CHICAGO.--THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SAID TODAY THAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH EMPHASIZED DEFENSE OF AMERICA "RATHER THAN SAVING THE WORLD," AND INDICATED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD RECOGNIZED "THE TREMENDOUS OPPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO OUR INVOLVEMENT IN FOREIGN WARS."

A STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER A MEETING OF THE AMERICA FIRST EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, HEADED BY R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., NATIONAL DIRECTOR, AND GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, READ IN PART: "THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH LAST NIGHT WAS THE LEAST WARLIKE OF HIS UTTERANCE SINCE THE ELECTION... IT WAS NOT AS CLEAR AS IT WAS LONG, THIS UNDOUBTEDLY BECAUSE IT WAS AN IMPOSSIBLE ATTEMPT TO SATISFY THE WAR PARTY, WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE NON-INTERVENTIONISTS.... WE SHALL REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO CRYSTALLIZE PUBLIC OPINION IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGES TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S WARS."

5/28-RS333P

Tolson
 E. A. Tamm
 Clegg
 Glavin
 Ladd
 Nichols
 Rosen
 Tracy
 Carson
 Egan
 Gurnea
 Hendon
 Pennington
 Quinn
 Nease
 Gandy

Rem. H. ...

AMERICA FIRST UNITS IN 2 STATES ASKED TO INTENSIFY WAR FIGHT

America First committee groups in Illinois and Iowa were called on yesterday to intensify their drive to enroll new members and to continue writing President Roosevelt in opposition to convoys and this country's entrance into foreign war. Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, also urged the chapters to conduct telephone campaigns to rally sympathizers.

"The President's proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists," Mrs. Fairbank said, "does not take away the right of free speech, and does not infringe on the right of assembly, or the right to petition congress. Therefore, all citizens have a constitutional right to express their point of view on all subjects freely. I feel convinced that if we all work hard enough, we can succeed in keeping the country out of this war."

Harold E. Fey, field editor of the Christian Century magazine, will speak at 8 p. m. today at the Lincoln Park chapter's rally in the North Side auditorium, 3730 Clark street. The subject of his talk is: "Americans Can Still Choose Peace."

100-471-1

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-30-41